A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON INTERNATIONALISATION OF EDUCATION IN JAPAN: IDEAL JAPANESE SOCIETY, MAN AND KNOWLEDGE

by

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ABSTRACT

Chapter I sets out the problems which have been raised by the rapid internationalisation of Japan. Holmes' 'problem solving approach' is used to describe problems emerging since the 1960s. The difficulties which Japan faces in international organisations and at home are observed. Changes in the international relations of Japan and the 'no-change' in the traditional 'mental states' of Japanese people create a general problem. The analysis made of the general problem in Chapter I indicates that it will be necessary to develop various models for further analysis.

The extent to which Japan has been internationalised in practice is examined. A distinction is drawn between the specific and general international features of the process. Features which are obstacles to the internationalisation of Japan are identified and related to the internationalisation of education.

A number of models are then presented which can be used to analyse the problem. For example, in Chapter II, three ideal models of man, society, and knowledge are constructed. Traditional and modern models are based on Max Weber's social theory, and the concepts of the United Nations' Charter are used for the international model.

In Chapter III, an ideal Japanese model of society, man, and knowledge is constructed. The traditional and modern models, constructed in Chapter II, are used to analyse the important legislation in Japan in two periods; between 1868 and 1945 based on the Imperial Oath of Five Articles and after 1945 based on the

Japanese Constitution of 1946.

In Chapters III and IV the Japanese models are used to identify traditional and modern features of man, society, and knowledge, in the fields of politics, economics, education, and society. Through the study of practice the extent to which traditional features are maintained and modern features are rejected can be discovered.

In Chapter VI attention is given to the internationalisation of education. An examination of the internationalisation of Japan indicates the role education might play. Government and non-government proposals to eliminate problems in an international society and to promote the internationalisation of Japan are examined and the proposed policies are assessed in practice. As a consequence, the author's recommendation is that the internationalisation of education should be achieved through the education of child returnees by giving them bilingual instruction.

Chapter VII concludes the overall analysis and presents the author's recommendations.

CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONALISATION IN JAPAN

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the problems brought about by the internationalisation of Japan. From a period of almost complete isolation before 1868 Japan has moved progressively towards increased involvement in international society both economically and diplomatically. The process of internationalisation has given rise to various problems both at home and abroad, which have made it a matter of public concern in Japan.[1]

Various aspects of Japanese social life have been affected by increased contacts between Japanese people and foreigners. In addition, Japan's increased international involvement has indicated to the government a need to prepare personnel to work in international organisations. To this end the Japanese government has introduced some educational policies, among others, to prepare "international men" who can serve Japan in international arenas.[2] However, these policies have been largely ineffective because neither the problems of internationalisation nor the concept of "international men" have been clarified.

The traditional 'mental states' of the Japanese people, based on Shintoism, are obstacles to the process of internationalisation. The conflict between traditional 'mental states' and modern and international ideas became acute when Japanese people began to meet and had contact with foreigners. These contacts increased with the increasingly international position adopted by Japan in the world, and such contacts are now unavoidable both at home and abroad.

The spread of modern and international views has on the one hand provoked conflict with traditional views, and on the other led to the abandonment of some traditional beliefs. This has often resulted in individual Japanese people holding inconsistent attitudes on a single issue. The case of children who have been educated overseas in foreign language medium schools is a good example of such conflicts.[3] Child returnees are the object of the same prejudice shown to foreigners or outsiders. They come into conflict with the authority of the teacher or the text book, with the way that foreign languages are taught in Japan, and with the ambiguous and indirect expressions and attitudes of Japanese people. Yet these children are regarded as future "international men" on account of their experience abroad, and as such are considerred important to the future development of Japan.[4]

There is, as illustrated by this example, some difficulty in identifying whether Japanese attitudes are positive or negative towards a particular issue. This difficulty is itself rooted in Shintoism, which is very open to new ideas, so long as they can be interpretted within a traditional framework. If new ideas cannot be so interpretted, Shintoism is extremely resistant to their incorporation. Even where Japanese people have been most open to changes in attitude, the new ideas have frequently been so altered that they have themselves served the end of maintaining traditional attitudes.

The process of internationalisation has been going on for a long time in Japan.[5] In 1868, at the beginning of the Meiji period, Japan emerged from a period of isolation, and established trade links with the United States of America and a number of European countries. The

terms of Japan's entry into the world economic community of the time were largely dictated by the United States, but some aspects of the change were adopted willingly, even enthusiastically, by Japanese people. The initial period of reform after 1868, in which a number of important constitutional principles were adopted from the West, was followed by a period in which Japanese people attempted to adjust to the new principles, while rejecting those aspects of modernisation which they found unacceptable. In spite of considerable expansion and development of Western-style economic enterprises, traditional patterns of authority and loyalty persisted. These traditional attitudes may even have been reinforced by the apparent threat to the national culture, and eventually culminated in the nationalism of the period 1930-1945.

Parallels with the period which followed the Second World War are apparent. For the second time within a hundred years, constitutional changes were introduced, this time more directly at the insistence of the United States. Some aspects of the changes were adopted enthusiastically, and especially in the economic and commercial fields Japan's progress in the process of economic modernisation has been unique. However, these reforms have also been followed by a period of adjustment, during which traditional attitudes to authority and loyalty have persisted, and during which a number of the changes introduced have been rejected, either explicitly or implicitly.

The two periods have in common changes which were introduced into the political and economic normative values and institutions of the country. Also in common are the traditional attitudes to family and personal relationships which conflict with the new institutions. In both cases the innovations were towards modernisation and

Westernisation, and had their greatest impact in the economic and political spheres. The two periods also hold a common interest. They have both contributed to the present problems of Japan. If one looks at one specific aspect of Japanese society, one can develop a picture of outstanding success. Japan has been outstandingly successful in achieving the status of a leading economic power. Japan has also been successful in maintaining cultural traditions and artforms which date back centuries. But particularly when one examines an area such as education which cuts across these divisions one can see the problems which arise out of these very successes.

The education system has been called upon to serve the needs of the economic, political and diplomatic communities, with their orientation towards modernisation and internationalisation.[6] It has also been required to transmit traditional values. This leads to a range of phenomena which are complex and appear to have two contradictory facets. In the educational system conformity and submission to authority are valued, at the same time as individuality and competition are fostered. Western and scientific knowledge are accepted as being high status at the explicit level, but the actual behaviour of Japanese people indicates that in many cases those who have acquired such knowledge are regarded as "outsiders".[7] Such conflict between the explicit norms of the educational system and practices or deeply held beliefs can create problems for the children who are being educated in Japan, and even more acute problems for Japanese children educated overseas who have to return to Japan and fit back into the schools.

Study of the periods which followed the constitutional changes

introduced in 1868 and 1945 is of value because it highlights the changes which have been introduced. But it is also of value in the investigation of the "mental states" of Japanese people, and the way in which they may be expected to respond to new institutions. Such a study is extremely important in analysing the present problems, particularly where, as mentioned above, phenomena have two or more contradictory facets.

2. The Internationalisation of Japan

Over the two periods concerned, after 1868 and after 1945, the extent of efforts to internationalise Japan can be judged from the number of treaties which were signed with other countries. In the first place these were largely bilateral treaties or multilateral treaties with a small number of nations, but increasingly, and especially after Japan's entry into the United Nations in 1956, they were multinational treaties with a large number of signiatories.

Two things should be emphasised in assessing the internationalisation of Japan, quite apart from the overall extent. In the first place the majority of treaties dealt with aspect of political and economic relationships between Japan and other nations. The treaties had minimal direct impact upon family relations, culture and education within Japan. In the second place, the treaties generally involved international relationships as they affected the activities of specialists in economic or political matters, but rarely had any effect on the attitudes of the majority of Japanese people to foreign culture or foreign people.

The first point can be seen quite clearly simply by reviewing the main

topics of international treaties, and classifying them under four headings: political, economic, education and social relationships.

2.1 Treaties Concluded after 1868

International society is based on international laws, which include international treaties, customary international law, and the general principles of law recognized by civilised nations.[8] A treaty can be defined in the narrow sense, as a document called 'treaty', or in a broad sense, including beside 'treaty', agreement, convention, pact, entente, protocol, contract, charter, exchange of official documents, declaration, prescription, regulation or stipulation in accordance with the context of the international law.[9] In this chapter the word 'treaty' will be used in the broader sense.

The classification of treaties presents some difficulties, because the title of a treaty may not reflect the content of the treaty, and in particular may not reflect the distribution of power between the parties to the treaty. Thus a peace treaty may be one of several types. It may be an agreement between two countries to respond in co-operation to a threat of war from some third country. In this case, it is only indirectly aimed at the preservation of international peace and the international community. The participants enter into it on equal terms, but those external to the agreement are regarded as having a different status. A second kind of peace treaty is usually signed at the conclusion of a war, and reflects the relative power of the countries at the conclusion of the war. The defeated country may cede certain territories or trading conditions to the victors. Yet a third kind of peace treaty may be a multilateral agreement aimed at settling an issue in truly international terms, on the assumption that

non-participating countries should be regarded as having equal status to those who actually participate.

Differences in types of treaties can be identified within groups of treaties which cover a particular area, whether it is trade, disarmament, educational exchanges or whatever. There are treaties which are concluded between unequal partners, treaties concluded between equal partners who are presumed to have preferential status when compared with other countries, and treaties between equal partners, with other countries presumed also to have equal status.

The third kind of treaty is more firmly based in broad international interests than in national interest, and has become more common since 1945. To the extent that treaties of this kind have increased in number over the years, a trend towards internationalisation can be discerned.

2.1.1 Political Treaties

Even though some treaties concluded after wars were not based on equality, still they assisted further internationalisation by restoring diplomatic relations and creating an atmosphere suitable for further international exchanges. Peace treaties such as the Sino-Japanese Tenzu Treaty (1885), the Shimonoseki Treaty (1895), and the Japanese-Russian Peace Treaty known as the Portsmans Treaty (1905) were of this type.[10] The Versailles Treaty (1919) was a multilateral treaty of this sort. The Potsdam Declaration (1945) played a similar part for Japan in setting out the framework for international relationships after the close of the Second World War.

Following the treaties which Japan concluded with the Western Powers on unequal terms to her disadvantage, she concluded some subsequent treaties on unequal terms to her advantage, particularly with China and Korea. The Stipulations of Amity with China and Korea (1876) were unequal treaties to the disadvantage of Korea and China, as were the Japan-Korea Agreements (1904, 1905, 1907), the treaty of annexation of Korea to Japan (1901), the Request of 21 Articles to China (1915), and the Japan-Manchuria Protocol which established Manchuria as a state (1932).[11]

The following treaties are early multilateral treaties to promote internationalisation, in that they envisage equal participation between all nations in preserving peace and security.[12] 1) The Washington Peace Treaty regarding the water basin of the Pacific Ocean signed by England, the USA, Japan, and France in 1921. 2) The Washington Treaty regarding respect for Chinese sovereignty and the open-door policy in China, signed by England, the USA, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Holland, and China in 1922. In accordance with this Treaty, Japan renounced some aspects of the Request of 21 Articles to China. 3) The Washington Treaty of Navy Disarmament, signed by England, the USA, Japan, Italy, and France in 1922, which restricted the retention of powerful battleships and suspended the building of these ships for ten years. 4) The Paris Anti-war Treaty signed by fifteen countries in 1928. 5) The London Treaty of Navy Disarmament signed by England, the USA, Japan, Italy, and France in 1930, which extended the terms of the 1922 treaty to 1936, and restricted the retention of support ships by England, the USA, and Japan.

Japan established diplomatic relations with over twenty-seven countries.[13] They began with the USA, England, Russia, Holland, and

France, followed China and Korea and eventually extended to many other countries. International activities were facilitated by the exchange of diplomats, the establishing of international organizations such as the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, and the signing of certain multilateral treaties regarding sovereignty of states, open-door policies, disarmament, and the right of states to determine their own political status. Until Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 she participated actively in several international conferences and signed international treaties to promote international relations and maintain peace and security.

2.1.2 Economic Treaties

In the economic sphere, Japan signed a limited number of treaties before 1868. Japan concluded bilateral treaties of peace and amity, and of commerce and navigation with the USA, England, Russia, Holland, and France between 1854 and 1858. These treaties were continuously valid up until 1868, the time of the Meiji Restoration.

The Treaty of Peace and Amity of 1854 was concluded on unequal terms to Japan's disadvantage.[14] Japan agreed to open some Japanese seaports, to assist foreign ships with supplies and crew in the case of deficiency, and to admit foreigners to a limited area near the port. It was a one-sided treaty and a trading clause was not included. The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1858 opened several other seaports, began the exchange of ministers and consuls between Japan and other countries, and recognised their residences in the partner states, recognised consular jurisdiction by granting extra-territoriality to the partner states, recognised freedom of religion for foreigners, and fixed a very low scale of import duties.[15] The

Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1858 can be seen as an unequal treaty in that it did not provide for customs autonomy, but did recognise extra-territoriality, and included a simple most-favoured-nation clause.[16]

Japan joined the ITU (International Telecommunication Union), established in 1932, and the UPU (Universal Postal Union) established in 1874. She accepted maritime laws for licensing ships and crews. The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1911 facilitated international contacts in areas of importation and exportation, foreign exchange and banking, joint stock companies overseas, shipping and aviation (1933). Japan also took part in industrial exhibitions like the Great Expositions in Vienna and the USA in the 1870s, and held an Industrial Exhibition in Tokyo in 1877. Afterwards, Japan joined the International World Exposition, established in 1928.

2.1.3 Treaties on Education and Social Relationships

No international treaties which dealt directly with education were signed between 1868 and 1945. Japan joined the Red Cross Convention of Geneva in 1886, the Red Cross Society in 1877, participated actively in the conferences in Geneva and Germany and established the Red Cross Society of Japan (1877) and Red Cross Hospitals.[17] Japan joined the Modern Olympic Games Committee (established in 1894 and the first Game was held in 1896) in 1894 and participated in the games in Stockholm in 1912.

2.2 Treaties Concluded after 1945

2.2.1 Political Treaties

Japan began the period with the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration in 1945 in which Japan renounced her sovereignty. This was followed by the Treaty of Peace with 45 countries in 1951 (San Francisco Treaty), which recognised Japan's sovereignty.[18] The latter was based on bilateral treaties of peace on the same or substantially the same terms as are provided for in that treaty. The bilateral Peace Treaty with China was concluded in 1952, the Japan-USSR Joint Declaration in 1956, the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea in 1951, the Agreement on the Lawful Status of Koreans residing in Japan in 1965, and the Agreement Regarding Cultural Property and Culture Between Japan and the Republic of Korea in 1965.[19]

Japan joined the international society as a non-member state of the UN in 1945 under the occupation of the Allied Powers and as a member state of the UN from 1956 when she signed the Charter of the UN.[20] This act realised the principle of equal sovereignty of Japan among member states of the UN.

Japan participated in the General Assembly of the UN after 1956. She is not eligible for permanent membership of the Security Council.[21] She has provided representatives to the International Court of Justice, in which she has been involved since 1954.[22] Japan is a member of the Economic and Social Council and provides international civil servants in the Secretariat. Japanese is not included among the official language of the UN principal organs.[23] Japan is a member of all seventeen specialised agencies of the UN.[24] Under the Council of Economics and the Social Council, Japan belongs to ESCAP, the Regional

Economic Committee, and the Committee of Women's Status of the Functional Committee.[25]

As of 1977, Japan recognised 153 independent countries and established 139 Japanese embassies and six consulates. Besides this, the government established five government agencies, including the Permanent Mission of Japan to the UN in New York (1954), the Delegation permanent du Japon aupres des Organizations Internationales of Geneve (1957), the Delegation du Japon a la Conference du Comite du Desarmament (1971), and the Delegation Permanent du Japon aupres de OECD in Europeennes of Brusel (1975).[26] The number of diplomats and international officials has been increasing with the development of international activities in government agencies and international organisations in the fields of politics, economics, education, and society in general.[27] Increasing numbers of diplomats from other ministries and non-government organisations, besides the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, indicate the large scale of involvement of specialist personnel in the process of internationalistaion.

Japan has attended the Summit since its first meeting in 1975, and the conference of 1979 was held in Japan.[28] Since 1977 Japan has joined ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) in ASEAN-Japan summit meetings, Foreign Ministers' meetings, and Economic Ministers' Conferences for the betterment of ASEAN-Japan relations. Meanwhile, Presidents and Ministers of ASEAN and Japan have made frequent visits among these countries.[29] Japan is a member of IPU (International Parliamentary Union) and the sixty-first conference of 1974 was held in Tokyo.[30]

2.2.2 Economic Treaties

In the field of economics, at the government level, Japan has participated actively in OECD since 1964, in the BIS (Bank for International Cooperation) since 1977, in the International Exhibition World Exposition since 1965, in the APO (Asian Productivity Organization) since 1961, in the ADB (Asian Development Bank) since 1966, and Assistance Fund of AfDF (African Development Fund) since 1973.[31] Japan has a close relationship with the USA, which find expression through the Japan-USA Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, the Japan-USA Conference of commerce, and the Japan-USA Wisemen's Group (Advisory Group on Economic Affairs) established in 1979. At the non-governmental level, Japanese have became members of BIAC (Business and Industry Advisory Committee), a private advisory organ to OECD established in 1962, and IATA (International Air Transportation Association).[32] The Japan-USA-European Committee, composed of about 200 leading men of knowledge, (e.g., scholars, diplomats, and managers) and the Japan-China Economic Association, established in 1972 on the initiation of political and financial leaders of both Japan and China for promoting private economic exchange between the two countries, are both active non-governmental organisations.[33]

The single most important treaty in the economic field has been GATT (General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade). This will be presented in some detail to illustrate the implications of such a treaty for the whole area of internationalisation. People who were involved in GATT included experts involved in the establishment of, and implementation of, GATT. They also included a large range of businessmen and officials whose work had to conform to the standards laid down in

GATT, who will be referred to as "followers of GATT", supervisors of these followers and experts involved in conferences of GATT and related meetings.[34]

The UN formulated policies to establish GATT by means of multilateral agreement between twenty-five countries in 1947.[35] Accordingly, experts who were involved in this process were firstly, those who formulated GATT and the Protocol of Terms of Accession of Japan to GATT, those appointed bureaucrats who signed the Protocol of Terms of the Accession of Japan to GATT, experts of the private sector, and ministers related to trade and tariffs. The second group were experts who were involved in adoption of the Protocol were members of the Diet, the elected body. A third group of experts were involved in the implementation and enforcement of the Protocol, and these were appointed bureaucrats of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Finance. Fourthly, in practice, GATT experts who supervised the followers of GATT, and administrative bureaucrats who investigated the GATT practices, and civil servants who examined customs duty all needed specific knowledge of the regulations. Followers of GATT included a wide range of experts in trading firms, transportation business companies of land, sea and air, banks or money exchanging firms. Lastly, experts who participated in GATT conferences were responsible to ministers, their officials, and diplomats. In the preparation of these conferences, experts from the related ministries and bureaux and from the private sector, e.g. economists, lawyers, and leading persons from economic organisations, were involved.

In connection with GATT, these experts require specific expertise of their own area of the international society. Specific expertise

concerning technical knowledge identified in GATT covers many aspects of international relations, including a) international law, b) formalities concerned with GATT, c) trade and tariffs, d) administrative rules on internal taxation and regulations, e) finance, f) transportation, and g) scientific products.[36]

This example illustrates the very wide range of specific knowledge required by the people involved in different aspects of the operation of an international institution such as GATT. While not every individual involved would be required to have all the specific knowledge, the preparation of men with that knowledge would necessarily be of great importance to nations participating in international society.

"The basic objectives (of GATT) include the raising of standards of living and the progressive development of the economics of all contracting parties... The attainment of these objectives is particularly urgent for less-developed contracting parties" (Article 36). It follows from this that government officials and experts of the firms are expected to recognise that 'individual and joint action' are essential to further the development of the economies of less-developed contracting parties and to bring about a rapid advance in the standards of living in these countries.(Article 3-b) Such ideas of cooperation between contracting parties can only be based upon recognition of an underlying equality of all parties to participate in GATT. Such equality, in turn, implies the notion of certain minimum human rights. This indicates that those who are to perform specific technical functions should be educated first in the general principles of internationalisation.

Besides technical knowledge, the government officials involved in implementing GATT policies would need to work in close cooperation with persons from other countries. They would therefore need also to have a clear understanding of certain human rights prescribed in the Japanese Constitution.[37] These are 1) to cooperate with the people of other countries, and to follow a universal political moral code, 2) not to discriminate against persons on the basis of race, colour, religion, education being equally accessible to all, and 3) to regard 'a social and international order', 'it shall be necessary to abide sincerely by treaties Japan concluded and the established international laws'. The Japanese Constitution did not include language, along with race, colour and religion as prohibited grounds for discrimination. It should be noted, however, that people involved in frequent dealings with people from other countries should not discriminate on the basis of language either, according to general standards concerning discrimination incorporated in the UN Charter.

It can be predicted that training international men, who are educated with the general knowledge of human rights, and feelings and attitudes in accord with that knowledge, and who are fluent in foreign languages, will be more difficult than training men who have only technical knowledge.[38]

The large increase in the number of people involved in GATT is used as an example. This could be multiplied many times in view of the number of treaties previously mentioned. This emphasises the very large number of people who now require a preparation in general international knowledge, as well as requiring some specialised introduction to specific international knowledge.

2.2.3 Treaties on Education and Social Relationships

Internationalisation of education, in terms of wider contact outside of Japan through membership of international organisations, participation in the activities of these organisations, and international exchange of men and materials, began on a large scale in the 1950s.

Japan's activities of educational cooperation related to UNESCO are widely acknowledged.[39] Sub-committees in various fields of education have rendered great service to education in international understanding, educational technology, natural science, and cultural activities both at home and abroad. Japan's UNESCO Committee in the Ministry of Education, with 60 members representing each field of the sub-committees of UNESCO, is very active. The World Conference on Adult Education held in Japan in 1976 was said to be a great success.[40] The East Asian Culture Research Centre of UNESCO, established in 1961, and ACCU (Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO), established by the cooperation of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, have attempted to preserve and to develop Asian culture.[41] They also contribute to development and the promotion of book publishing in cooperation with Asian countries, and provide research courses. Through the NIER (National Institute for Educational Research) Japan has contributed to educational research in UNESCO member countries of Asia.[42]

ACEID (Asian Centre of Educational Innovation and Development) was established in 1973.[43] A number of organisations, e.g. NIER of Japan, the Liaison Council of Japan Educational Technology Centre, and a few

universities, participate on Japan's behalf. The Japan-United States Educational Commission contributes to the exchange of students.

At the non-governmental level, Japan belongs to IAU (International Association of Universities) and IUS (International Union of Students). The conference of IAU was held in Japan in 1965.

Japan joined the IOC (International Olympic Committee) and the International Sport Federation and the Regional Games of Asia, of which the 1958 games were held in Japan. The Universiade of FISU (International University Sport Association) was held in Tokyo in 1967. The World games of the World Amateur Baseball Association, was held for the first time in Japan in 1980.

3 Traditional Deeply Held Beliefs of Japanese People

In contrast with the increase in contact between Japanese people and foreigners, both at home and abroad, a persistence of certain parochial and insular beliefs, or 'mental states', on the part of the majority of Japanese can be identified. The Japanese are indifferent to foreigners in Japan, and unwilling to make any special provision for refugees, students, or visitors from developing countries. Japanese people are not expected to learn or to speak foreign languages. While traditional rules of hospitality require that foreigners be treated with due consideration, this does not secure equal treatment for foreigners who wish to live and work in Japan. Indeed, to the extent that Japanese people who have spent a long time overseas have acquired a facility in foreign languages and foreign manners, these Japanese people are themselves regarded as "foreign", and therefore subject to certain forms of discrimination.

In order to clarify the nature of these persistent attitudes and 'mental states' on the part of Japanese people, it is necessary to identify those unchanging attitudes among a number of values which are complex and changing. For example, the normative changes which were introduced at the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 included attempts to increase accessibility of foreign knowledge. The Japanese people made a considerable effort to learn from Western European countries and from North America.[44] This willingness to learn, and the respect shown for foreigners who were able to transmit the required knowledge, indicates a certain openness on the part of Japanese people.

However, where new knowledge came into conflict with deeply held beliefs and practices there was a reaction against it, involving an attempt to incorporate it in modified form, or, as a last resort, complete rejection. It is not, therefore, a simple matter to identify precisely which 'mental states' have persisted, and which have been subject to change.

Traditional attitudes towards authority persist, for example, but a considerable number of changes were made to introduce more democratic forms of government, both at the time of the Meiji and subsequently. These new forms of government were run in terms of the traditional forms of personal authority which persisted. Indeed it is the persistent attitude towards personal authority which is crucial to an understanding of the problems produced by internationalisation. The idea that the elder person should be respected and deferred to is a central tenet of Shintoism and Confucianism, and it persists very

strongly in Japan, even where the outward form of authority is democratic or bureaucratic.

Problems are identified to the extent that there are people who maintain certain traditional features (possibly, even certain modern and international features) at the same time as they accept certain modern and international features.[45] In this connection, the most important persisting features of traditional 'mental states' can be seen to be 1) prejudice against foreigners, 2) the view that authority should rest with a particular person, 3) the view that traditional human relationships should be preserved, 4) the view that Japanese people should not be expected to learn or speak a foreign language, and 5) certain traditional moral attitudes associated with Shintoism and Confucianism.

Traditional Shintoism is a pantheistic and animistic religion of self-denial and self-abnegation. The most important values which are incorporated within the religion are ones of self-sacrifice and reducing one's personal requirements, even one's personal importance, to nothing in the face of a more important social or theological entity.[46]

At one level, the stress on the lack of importance of the individual has made the Japanese open to the acceptance of ideas from outside, on the basis that other people may have equal access to the truth. At a second level, it has been possible to incorporate into the framework of Shinto those aspects of other world religions, particularly Buddhism and Confucianism, which accord with these notions of self-denial. Even those aspects of Christianity which accord with this notion were fairly easily accommodated.[47]

However, the example of Christianity is important, because Christianity incorporates a claim to be the single way of approaching the truth. In this claim it comes directly into conflict with the traditional Japanese values. Christianity was tolerated and partially incorporated into the traditional framework of Japanese thought only up to a point. When Christians started to claim exclusive access to the truth and to dismiss the traditional ceremonies and rituals of Shinto a violent reaction was provoked.[48]

In this way the Japanese have found it possible to incorporate many modern or alien forms of thought while retaining many traditional views on ethics and personal relationships. In the period of National Shinto, many of the outward forms of fascism were adopted from Germany, but the underlying values of self-sacrifice for the benefit of the Emperor, and hence the nation, were traditional views of Shinto.

The ethic of self-denial extends to very many areas of human activity, and includes restrictions on individuals in the expression of criticism and novel ideas. This means that while the Japanese can willingly accept some concepts of democracy, and particularly those expressions of democracy which stress utilitarianism and the greatest benefit of the greatest number, they find it much harder to adopt changes in personal relationships, and openness to personal criticism, which are seen to be central to democratic ideals in the West.

In present day Japan many modern institutions have been adopted, particularly the institutions which have been involved in the

modernisation, democratisation and internationalisation of Japan since 1945. However, within those institutions personal rights of self expression and freedom for personal development have been restricted to ensure that the new institutions should not conflict with traditional values. Within modern institutions traditional human relationships have limited the freedom of expression of lower bureaucrats or civil servants. Where these traditional morals have needed supplementing, the arbitrary imposition of rules within institutions has been used to restrict the freedom of lower officials.

In this way the Japanese have sought to adopt many modern ways of organising institutions while working to retain many traditional attitudes. Within a single institution there may be operating a complex mixture of traditional and modern behavioural patterns.

4 Problems

A distinction can be drawn between specific and general features of internationalisation in order to clarify problems brought about as a result of internationalisation. International activity takes place at two distinct levels, which are referred to in this thesis as specific international society and general international society. The nation which internationalises enters into a range of activities at governmental level which lead to, or are the outcome of, international agreements, treaties, or participation in international agencies. In order to operate effectively in this international society, the government requires a staff of men and women with skills which are specific to the conduct of international diplomacy. The people involved will occupy positions as civil servants in international organisations, delegates to conferences, ambassadors and diplomats.

The skills they will require will include knowledge of foreign languages, of rules of protocol for international meetings, and a detailed technical knowledge of specific aspects of trade, commerce, military matters or international law, depending upon their role in the international society. All of these features, which arise directly from governmental involvement in international affairs are described here as specific features of internationalisation. These can be extended to include not only governmental involvement, but more recently the involvement of non-governmental bureaucratic organisations, whether businesses, relief agencies or voluntary organisations, which involve their employees in a similar range of activities.

There is also a more general aspect of internationalisation. In order to conduct their business successfully, specific international men require an atmosphere of mutual respect in which all are accorded basic human rights and dignity in which to work. In the process of working together, they should develop an understanding of each other's culture and mode of life which will permit fruitful co-operation at the personal level. This more general commitment to basic human rights and freedoms is referred to as general internationalisation. However, the need for general internationalisation may extend beyond those who are directly involved in specific international society. Increased activity in specific international society will increase the international traffic in letters, business and government staffs, tourists, and so on. A peripheral range of citizens who are not directly involved in specific international society will be called upon to show respect for people of a different race, religion or language.

Treaties are more likely to affect specific internationalisation than general internationalisation, because of the involvement of government in the process of agreeing treaties. The analysis of treaties presented so far shows that Japan's international contacts have increased, but also shows that there is an emphasis on the political and economic fields of activity. However, by studying the content of treaties the extent of the imbalance between specific and general features also can be gauged.

While broadly in line with the letter of international agreements, government policies adopted in Japanese society in the light of international ideas of major international orgnisations, on the whole, seem insufficient, or show a tendency to neglect human rights and the culture of developing countries. In this way the persistence of traditional means has led to the neglect of the spirit of international agreements. For instance, it is said that receiving refugees and giving educational, technical or financial aid to developing countries has tended to be promoted when experts visited their countries or signed agreements. This reflects a traditional view of, and reliance upon, the authority of the individual person. Refugees residing in Japan have not received national support from government policies, nor from organisations, nor from the Japanese people in general. This pattern of aid implies a compensatory idea, or seems to be derived from Japan's sense of superiority over developing countries.[49]

Thus, in practice, such neglect in government policy reflects upon both Japanese organisations and Japanese people in these organisations as well as reflecting upon society in large. Educational, economic,

and social organisations, having followed government policies, send second level Japanese experts to developing countries, and these men have tended to participate in their work without becoming involved in the cultural and social life of the country.[50] Accordingly, they have faced difficulties in terms of not producing the desired result, or lack of acceptance by the people and organisations of the receiving country.

In politics, policies regarding receiving refugees, technical and financial aid or cooperation are in line with the UN and Unesco recommendations. Policies on the import and export of economic products together with provisions for foreign businessmen residing in Japan or Japanese businessmen abroad are in line with GATT, as well as the treaty of commerce and navigation.[51] But trading is unbalanced in terms of the quantities exported and imported, and more Japanese businessmen work overseas than there are foreign businessmen in Japan.[52] Men in business offices abroad face difficulties more at the level of their general integration in foreign societies than at the level of communication with foreign experts on account of their lack of knowledge of foreign language and different cultures.

International exchange schemes in education, art and science, and culture are in line with the Unesco recommendations of 1974.[53] The Basic Policy for Promoting Education of Children Overseas comes under the international exchange scheme.[54] Education for International Understanding in school is in line with Unesco recommendations.[55] Japanese tourists visiting foreign countries, foreign visitors in Japan, including participants at the non-governmental level in conferences, exhibitions, or games are in line with Unesco recommendations, as well as the treaties of peace and of commerce and

navigation.[56]

In the educational field, the state of activities among member countries of the UN, e.g. conferences, educational research and planning, exchange of educational information and educationists, and financial and educational aid, are standards by which to assess the degree of internationalisation in education. So far, participation in these international educational activities, and in particular international exchange in terms of assisting Japanese and foreign students on national and private levels, can be seen to have expanded rapidly.

The number of foreign students in Japan has increased by fifty percent, from 4,400 in 1970 to 6,500 in 1980.[57] Of these, students with Japanese government scholarships doubled from 600 to 1,400 over the same period, and students on their own government scholarships and self-supported students increased by thirty percent. Students on Japanese government scholarships tended to study science (60.0%). Others tended to study in cultural areas.[58]

It is interesting that the number of Japanese students abroad (13,000 in 1979) by far exceeded that of foreign students (6,500 in 1980) in Japan.[59] Yet, the number of Japanese students abroad on a Japanese government scholarship is much less than that of foreign students receiving a Japanese government scholarship. The number of Japanese students abroad in 1979 who received a foreign government scholarship was 320, which surpassed those receiving a Japanese government scholarship (250).[60] About 90.0% of Japanese students abroad studied in advanced countries of Europe and the USA. By way of contrast, 80.0%

of foreign students in Japan were from Asian countries.[61]

Other areas of scholarly exchange of teachers of foreign languages, of researchers and of officials, have shown similar growth which could be taken to indicate increased internationalisation. However, the pattern of organisation within each exchange scheme has also been similar, stressing specific features of international knowledge.[62] Japanese personnel have largely been sent to Europe and the USA to acquire technical, scientific, or linguistic knowledge, while overseas students in Japan have come from developing countries with similar aims. In neither case has a broader understanding of different cultures or of the freedom of different countries to follow different paths to development been encouraged.

The problems raised by this fragmentary modernisation and internationalisation are the subject of this thesis. They are largely problems of individuals who have to reconcile the various institutions, norms and 'mental states' which they come into contact with, and which are changing at different rates. But on the broader level they are problems for the whole of Japan, and a number of symposia and the works of a number of authors indicate that they are increasingly being recognised as such.[63]

These symposia, and works of individual authors, do not explicitly differentiate between specific and general features of international society. They do, however, indicate a level of concern over the effective preparation of specific international men. They suggest that there is a scarcity of efficient specific personnel in international society which is revealed by the fact that Japanese are not contributing to specific international society with human resources.

For instance, Japanese international civil servants in international organisations are scarce,[64] and so are experts in economic, social, and educational organisations.[65] The way political and economic negotiations in international relations are concluded by the Japanese government officials has been criticised.[66] Lack of understanding, miscommunication or lack of adaptability on the part of Japanese experts to the specific international situation has led foreign experts to express doubts about the speech and behaviour of Japanese experts.[67]

More serious criticisms relate to more general features, particularly to the persistence of traditional Japanese views of man and human relationships, in the way Japanese people conduct international affairs. The scarcity of experts and the various problems facing experts are, therefore, due to lack of international adaptability, that is, i) insufficient foreign language to communicate with foreigners,[68] ii) a neglect of customary laws and culture of the country specific to an expert's work, and iii) the persistence of traditional manners and expression in business dealings with foreigners. The first two items belong to specific international knowledge. But, basically all the above items can be thought of as stemming from a failure to apply human rights to specific international society. Lack of competence in languages is related partially to traditional manners and expression, that is, to a neglect of individuals. Prejudice against the languages and culture of developing countries derives from a lack of respect for the traditional culture of these countries, which also relates to traditional concepts about man.[69]

In preparing experts to work in international organisations, a knowledge of international laws, treaties, conventions, regulations of international organisations, and Japanese laws, a technical knowledge of the experts' own fields have been considered sufficient.[70] Events have demonstrated that this is not the case, and that Japanese experts require a broader understanding of the process of internationalisation. Adopting the spirit of human rights in the international climate and a comprehension of an appropriate foreign language, in particular official languages, are crucial to international experts.[71] General international attitudes among the majority of people in Japan are also needed if the specific international man is not to be cut off from his own society.[72]

So long as Japan conducts international relations by concluding various treaties and by being a member of international organisations, the whole Japanese society is included in the general international society and it should be open to all nationalities and nations in accordance with international laws. Increasing numbers of Japanese people travel overseas, and foreign visitors go to Japan for sightseeing, or as participants in international conferences, the Olympic Games and the world expositions held in Japan.[73] This shows involvement in international affairs. However, the Japanese on the whole seem indifferent, or consider that international matters belong to the territory of specific international men.[74]

Looking at the process of internationalisation as a whole, two major problems can be identified. In the first place, internationalisation, as indicated by the number and effect of treaties and international contacts, has been rapid in the political and economic areas, while education and social relationships have been relatively unaffected.

Secondly, in the implementation of policies connected with internationalisation, new institutional forms have been adopted while attitudes to personal social relationships have remained virtually unaltered. Both of these problems have educational aspects. There is now an identifiable concern in Japan over the ability of the educational system to prepare personnel to work in the international sphere, and over the competence of those who are prepared to work in international society so long as traditional attitudes to authority are retained.

5 Summary

The extent to which Japan has internationalised is shown by the numbers and nature of treaties which Japan has concluded and the state of participation and the position held in international organisations. Problems of internationalisation, especially the way in which Japan cooperates with other countries and responds to the international ideas of the UN, illustrate the state of internationalisation of Japan.

The present study shows that up to 1933, Japan had internationalised partially by concluding treaties with certain countries of Asia, Europe, North America, and South America. These treaties were simpler to those of the present period, and some of them showed features of the international model in terms of promoting the maintenance of peace and security while others did not.[75] Japan joined the major international organisations such as the League of Nations and ILO, ITU, UPU, the Red Cross Society and Modern Olympic Games Committee, but membership of educational organisations has been negligible. Japan has participated in international activities of the above

organisations and has made an effort to promote international relations and to maintain peace and security. Membership of the Security Council of the League of Nations gave Japan certain favourable rights for political decisions in the League of Nations. Between 1933 and 1945, Japan was in a state of anti-internationalisation and withdrew from the League of Nations and entered World War II.

Japan, on the whole, adopted international features in the Japanese Constitution of 1946. Further, several features of internationalisation were implied in the Japanese Constitution, and supplemented by other related laws and regulations to a certain extent. These features dealt with 'international co-operation', 'man's rights to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits', 'a social and international order', and 'culture of the world and science as knowledge'.[76]

For post-surrender Japan, internationalisation in specific international society began from 1951 when Japan recovered her independence. This was the initial step to Japan's internationalisation, as before that time treaties had been limited to only Western democratic countries, and Japan was not a member country of the UN. After 1956, Japan made enormous efforts to internationalise in the area of specific international society, in terms of concluding treaties with both Western democratic countries and socialist countries on equal terms, and joining the UN and other international organisations in politics, economics, education, and society at large. In view of the number and nature of treaties which Japan concluded and the state of participation in international organisations, Japan

certainly participated in the conferences, signed resolutions of the UN and other international organisations, and followed their policies.[77]

The example of international society, man, and knowledge, both specific and general, in the case of GATT demonstrated the way in which both specific and general international men are to be involved in international society.[78] Similar examples might well have been drawn from many other fields.

In spite of fairly satisfactory internationalisation found in the adoption and implementation of international policies at the specific level, unequal co-operation in areas of security, receiving refugees, or involvement in the North-South problems were seen. Specific international men are scarce, and such men face problems in business negotiations which produce, in particular, political and economic frictions, because of insufficient competence in official languages, lack of understanding of foreign customs or attitudes, combined with the closed and ambiguous dual nature of Japanese man.

At the general level, organisations or institutions of all fields are closed in nature because of the exercise of personal authority. The closed nature of organisations and men involve prejudice against outsiders. Such cases are found in the national treatment of students from developing countries, refugees, Koreans in Japan and even prejudice against Japanese children returned from abroad. These problems are identified as features of traditional man, knowledge, and society. Thus, the general society of Japan has not been internationalised. Since certain international features have been

adopted, the concepts of society, man, and knowledge prevalent in Japan consist of a triple nature; traditional, modern, and international features. In the next chapter the further analysis of the problem will be advanced by the development of models to identify clearly the traditional, modern and international features of Japanese society.

CHAPTER II

IDEAL MODELS

1 Introduction

In order to study in greater detail the problems identified in Chapter I, it is necessary to examine what changes are necessary in the traditional 'mental states' of the Japanese if they are to cope successfuly. Because of the complex interrelations between traditional, modern and international aspects in the Japanese situation, it is desirable to construct ideal typical models. In this chapter, models are constructed, drawing heavily upon the work of M.Weber. The traditional and modern models are taken directly from Weber, while the international model uses the Charter of the United Nations as a source.

These generalised models are not related to the specific circumstances of Japan. They are used merely to identify traditional, modern and international features of any society. They are not used to evaluate traditional, modern and international features specific to Japan, in the sense of drawing conclusions as to the desirability of modernisation or internationalisation. The models serve as a basis of comparison with the ideal models of Japanese society in Chapter III, and to analyse the complex problems of internationalisation and modernisation in the fields of politics, economics, education and society in historical perspective. Finally the international model is used to identify and classify statements on the characteristics which are seen as desirable in debates about bringing up "international men".

Traditional society is based on patronage, and individuals are assigned status according to their ascribed position within groups. Modern society is bureaucratic, and individuals are assigned status in accordance with their qualifications and competence.[1] International society is intended to increase cooperation, and to extend the model of modern society in the arena of international relationships. Some traditional features, however, persist in the international model. The three models therefore offer a clear framework for identifying societal issues, and especially education, as being generally traditional, modern or international in tenor.

2 Model Based on the Weberian Theory of the Traditional Society

2.1 Authority

The basis of authority in the traditional system is family relationships. An individual exercises an authority which is due to his or her position in the family. In a traditional society this type of authority is extended to groupings of families.[2] The head of a family holds that position because of his age or precedence at birth. The selection of the head of the family is governed by traditionally transmitted rules.[3] Similarly, a chief is designated according to traditionally transmitted rules. He is an elder in the social group, a particular individual who is designated by a definite rule of inheritance, or one who comes to possess his personal administrative staff.[4]

Between the members of the group, there exist relationships of master and servants, namely a 'chief' who exercises authority and 'subjects' who are subject to authority.[5] This is an extension of the notion of a head of a single household to the whole community.

The exercise of authority is a chief's personal prerogative. The chief commands respect, and has authority, because of his position within the group. In the same way as the kinship relationships within a family are permanent and identified with particular individuals, so the chief and his subjects are in a permanent relationship. There can be no distinction between the role of the chief and the chief as an individual.

Relationships are based on unlimited personal loyalty:[6] the chief depends on the personal loyalty of his subjects, and his subjects are obliged to be loyal and obedient to him. Thus, subjects obey the chief not because he is superior but because of his position of authority accorded by tradition.

The chief exercises authority within the sphere of traditional rules combined with his personal decision.[7] The chief has the right to exercise his authority arbitrarily in any way he sees fit. This is his 'private prerogative' in his authority.[8] However, he must legitimate his decisions by reference to tradition, and to the traditional rules which have been handed down. Authority is thus exercised within the sphere of traditional rules. If the chief exercises his authority personally and arbitrarily, it becomes free from tradition.

The chief may delegate his authority to other individuals or groups within the society. The organised group exercising authority is primarily based on unlimited personal loyalty. Obedience is to the authority of the individual and thus owed to the chief in person. Again, this is an extension of the idea of a family to the larger

society. The loyalties between the members of the group are modelled on relationships of family loyalty. Indeed, in some instances the relationships between the group exercising authority may be initially defined in terms of kinship.[9]

However, using his personal authority, the chief may also appoint an administrative staff to exercise his authority in some cases.[10] The administrative staff are the chief's retainers, or subjects, and emerge in the traditional pattern of authority. A man as subject is dependent on his chief personally, economically, and in obtaining his position in the organisation.[11] On the other hand, in exercising his authority the chief is also dependent on his subjects in terms of their loyalty to him. In this connection, each man's individuality is subservient to the chief, authority, the group, and the household. Consequently his individuality is not recognised.

Thus the chief exercises authority with or without administrative staff. This administrative class may form the basis of a privileged group within society, which comes to exercise authority in its own right, due to its traditionally held position. For this class the appropriation of judicial and military powers tends to be treated as a base for a privileged class position.[12]

Economic activities are closed to other groups in accordance with traditions which specify who may trade with whom. The operation of these rules may be modified by the financial policies of the chief or his agents. These policies may further restrict trade, or can open a wide variety of different possibilities in some cases.[13] For instance the development of a market of a monopolistic type under the direct control of the regime may be possible, as in the case of the economic

development under the Tokugawa. Another type of monopolistic organisation has been favourable to politically oriented capitalism in the patrimonial states of the Western World in the periods of 'enlightened despotism', and can be seen in Japan in the period of development after the Meiji restoration. Under the dominance of a traditional regime, only certain types of capitalism are able to develop. Of particular interest in Japan is the way in which the traditional regime restricted or promoted the development of a certain amount of capitalistic mercantile trade, the provision of supplies for the state, and the financing of war.

2.2 Traditional Institutions

The basic institution of a traditional society is the family. The traditional relationships between members of a single family are extended to cover relationships between families. Social life is bound to be traditional in terms of the respect accorded to the elderly, unlimited loyalty, and obligation and obedience to the chief of the family, household, or larger social institution. Traditional man is orientated towards group action, being bound by traditional rules which dominantly determine a man's behaviour within the group.

The traditional family is based on inherited position, which is necessarily closed, restricted, and irrational in the selection of members for the group, and in arranging their positions within it. When the societal groupings extend beyond the family, patronage is the way social institutions are organised, maintained, and supported by the chief or persons in authority. Members of the organisation recruited through patronage come to be treated as subjects, comrades, or retainers. Traditional society is, in Weber's terms, irrationally

hierarchical as people of the privileged class have social, political and economic advantages in securing the patronage of those in authority. Patronage is not exercised in such a way as to ensure that those with the greatest administrative ability are advanced to positions of authority.

The typical administrative staff of retainers is recruited from 'patrimonial' or 'extra-patrimonial' groups.[14] The persons of the former are already related to the chief by traditional ties of personal loyalty. In this category are kinsmen, dependents who are officers of the household and clients. The persons in the latter group have a relation of purely personal loyalty. These are people who have, of their own free will, entered into a relation of personal loyalty to the chief as officials.

Where an administrative staff has been recruited on an extra-patrimonial basis, a privileged group emerges. In this case all governmental authority and the corresponding economic rights tends to be treated as private appropriated economic advantages, distributed among this privileged group.[15] In the same way as the chief appropriates his authority to himself personally, so, also, his officials appropriate their delegated authority to themselves personally.

Members of the chief's administrative organisation are maintained or supported by their chief in various ways:[16] a) as dependents (house officers or servants) whose entire living expenses are paid, b) as benefices (Japanese samurai) or praebends (priests) who receive allowances of goods or money, c) as fiefs or feudal lords, who possess

a set of appropriated governing powers and their own administrative staff in a feudal system.

2.3 Traditional Rules

Traditional knowledge is based on traditionally transmitted rules such as the sacred tradition of a group, precedents or particular received legal norms.[17] These rules apply principally to family life. They are extended to cover social life and political life and any traditional organisation, since the traditional society is primarily bounded by traditional rules. Behavioural rules for chief and subjects, which are based on loyalty, obligation, obedience, and traditional limitations, are essential knowledge for man to take his place in any organization. An ethical sense of justice, or a sense of utilitarian expediency,[18] is knowledge which is specific to the chief, who will be required to arbitrate on important issues. This basic knowledge is acquired through empirical experiences and/or through a common process of education.[19] To follow these traditional elements and not to overstep the limitation of the sphere of specific rules is fundamental to social life. Both subjects and the chief are expected to observe the traditional limitations. To overstep the traditional limitation would endanger the traditional status.[20] Since there is no clear distinction between the chief and the person who occupies this office, resentment aroused by a chief who overstepped the traditional boundaries would be directed against him personally when he cannot legitimate his actions in terms of the traditionally transmitted rules.[21]

A person ought to be accorded personal rights depending on his hierarchical status. Those who have no privileges have no rights in

terms of administrative matters.[22] On the question of obedience, a man can make a personal decision as to whether he will follow an instruction or not. In coming to his decision he must assess whether or not the chief oversteps tradition in exercising his personal prerogatives. Those who have, in addition to the above personal decision, privileges, have personal rights conferred by the chief.

Rational training is scarce for household officials who are usually favourites of a chief. A certain specific knowledge is required of administrative officers and it is usually acquired through technical training by apprenticeship.[23] The 'art' of reading and writing is necessary for many officers and is expected to be acquired through empirical training. Certain forms of traditional knowledge may be protected on behalf of the chief by a particular group in society, such as priests.

3 Modern Model Based on Weberian Theory

3.1 Authority in the Modern Society

The models of modern society, man, and knowledge are constructed from Weber's writings on legal authority within a bureaucratic system of coordination.

Bureaucracy is the basic and significant characteristic of the modern form of the organisation of corporate groups. Modern society is based on legally enacted rules and laws.[24] These rules and laws embody principles, which are appealed to in order to legitimate authority. Authority is not seen to rest in particular persons, but in the rules and laws which are impersonally applied. The resulting society is bureaucratic.[25] It is bureaucratic in the way social, economic and

political institutions are organised, and function. It is rationally hierarchical because the whole pattern of every day life of the modern society is bounded by this bureaucracy ideas and system.[26]

Modern man is subjected to an impersonal order and impersonal obligations of office; obedience is owed to enacted rules, at least on the part of the members of the corporate group.[27] The idea of separation between authority and the holder of office is central to the concept of the bureaucratic society.[28] This idea is applied to the personal action and the functioning of any administrative organ and to social relationships in general.

Bureaucratic authority depends on the acceptance of the following mutually inter-dependent ideas:[29] 1) that given legal norms are established by agreement, or by imposition, with a claim to obedience, in general, by all persons, 2) that every body of law consists essentially of a consistent system of abstract rules, which are applica ble to particular cases and within defined limits, 3) that typical persons in authority occupy an 'office', and are subjected to an impersonal order and to the law, and 4) that the obligation to obey the law is only binding within the sphere of the rationally delimited authority.

This arrangement of society is rational in the sense that there is a continuous organisation of official functions bound by rules, that there is a specific sphere of competence designated to each member of an organisation,and that there is an organised hierarchy of offices with a right of appeal and of statement of grievances from the lower levels to the higher.[30] It is also rational in following a principle

of separation between the members of the administrative staff from their offices. In contrast with traditional authority, there is a complete absence of the appropriation of an official position by the incumbent. That is to say, the official is not to use his position for personal advantage. Administrative actions, decisions and rules are formulated and recorded in writing, so that they are open to scrutiny in the light of the principles which are in operation.

Modern society is conducted by the 'legal authority', with a nominal superior (elected president, a cabinet of ministers or body of elected representatives) and superiors heading all corporate groups.[31] These titular heads of organisations are also subjected to bureaucratic control according to legally enacted laws, rules or norms, in the interests of those under their authority.

Members of a bureaucratic organisation are personally free and subject to authority only with respect to their impersonal official obligations of office, which has a clearly defined legal sphere of competence and position in the hierarchy.[32] Officers are appointed by a free contractual relationship. An officer is subjected to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office. The office is treated as the occupation of the incumbent and it constitutes a career.

The emergence of socially, politically and economically privileged groups through the private appropriation of the authority which is due to a particular office is impossible in the bureaucratic system of recruitment and promotion. The responsibilities of the individual and the responsibilities of office are clearly delineated, and any opposition is not directed against the person of the superior but

against the system.[33]

3.2 Modern Institutions

Modern society is composed of independent family units and modern organisations of corporate groups in almost all fields. Family membership, and position in the family, are not, however, of primary importance for the individuals relationships with larger societal groups. Members of the family are individuals on equal terms as persons.[34]

The principle of incorporated organisations with bureaucratic administrative staffs and bureaucratic administrations is applicable with equal facility to a wide variety of different fields in society.[35] Such organisations may be social, economic or political in nature and include charitable organisations, religious organiations, private associations and clubs, profit making businesses, states, armies, and political parties.

In administrative organisations in all fields, the person exercising authority is a 'superior' who is elected or succeeds by 'legal competence' based on his own personal competence.[36] Those subject to authority are officials who are appointed. Both types of officials are recruited by selection on the basis of technical qualifications indicating individual competence. Whether 'superior' or officials, they are free to reject a post or to resign their post under specified circumstances.

Although recognised as individual and obtaining his post by individual competence, whether a 'superior' or an official, individual

relationships in the administrative organisation are based on rules, laws and a hierarchical order which are impersonal.

Officials are remunerated by fixed salaries in money, for the most part with a right to pensions.[37] The salary scale is primarily graded according to rank in the hierarchy but the responsibility of the position and the requirements of the incumbent's social status may be taken into account. There is a system of promotion according to seniority or to achievement, or both. Promotion is dependent on the judgement of superiors.

In the economic field, modern bureaucratic organisations are particularly suited to the development of capitalism and a market economy. There will be a capitalistic orientation in the modern business economy, with continuous productive enterprises using capital accounting, speculation in commodities and securities, the promotional financing of enterprises, and the profitable regulation of market situations.[38] These features are to a large extent peculiar to the modern Western World.[39] It is only in the modern Western World that rational capitalistic enterprises with fixed capital, free labour, and the rational specialisation and organisation of functions, bound together in a market economy, are to be found. It is notable that during periods of conscious modernisation in Japan attempts have been made to introduce many of these features.[40]

3.3 Modern Rules

Knowledge of the basic social behaviour based on legal rules, laws or norms is obtained through a common process of education. Specialised

knowledge for officials is obtained by technical training. Knowledge of an empirical character, which increases an official's power, is acquired through experience in service. Thus, to be independent and to act on one's own competence, rationally and according to legal rules, is the basis of social life.[41]

Knowledge of legally enacted rules and laws is modern knowledge required of any man who is to be recognised as an individual to live in modern society. It may be obtained through the common process of education.

In the modern form of corporate groups in all fields, there are two types of knowledge for administrative staff: one is specialised knowledge obtained through formal technical training and the other is knowledge of an empirical character developed by experience acquired through the conduct of office. Specialised, or bureaucratic, knowledge includes knowledge of technical rules or norms to conduct an office, and knowledge of modern technology and business methods. Empirical knowledge which the individual requires includes knowledge of the concrete facts within his own sphere of interest and a store of documentary material peculiar to his official position. These items of technical information may form 'official secrets' in the bureaucratic organisation, or 'commercial secrets' in the productive enterprise.

Specialised technical knowledge, in particular related to the productive business in the economic system, is the primary source of the superiority of bureaucratic administration and is indispensible.[42] Specialised technical knowledge is the indispensable qualification for candidates for bureaucratic administrative offices.[43] The technical knowledge of candidates is tested by examination or guaranteed by a

diploma certifying technical training, or both.[44] Thus, technical knowledge is, by itself, sufficient to ensure a position of extraordinary power. Knowledge of an empirical nature increases the power of bureaucratic organisations, or the holders of power who make use of them.

A man is not expected to be dependent on others for patronage, but independent in terms of the way he is recruited, performs his work, makes decisions and judgements, and is financed for his living expenses, so long as he obeys legally enacted and accepted impersonal rules in his specified area of competence. Personal rights are not conferred by a superior but they are legally enacted by legislation.

4 Ideal International Model based on the UN

The concept of contemporary international society came into being only recently, in the 19th century, with the evolution of international organisations.[45] The evolution of international organisations can be traced from the conference system, which developed from the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), through the international unions and the League of Nations, to the present United Nations.[46] In this evolution, the present form of international organisation emerged and developed as a political institution based on multilateral treaties in order to solve problems of international relations regarding economics, politics, and society in general. In particular, the intention was to reduce the likelihood of war.

An ideal model of international society and knowledge can be constructed on the basis of the UN Charter supplemented by the

Constitution of Unesco and the 1974 Unesco 'Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms'.

4.1 Authority in the International Organisation

The international model is neither exclusively modern nor traditional. To the extent that international organisations are intended to create a forum in which principles can be discussed and referred to without reference to the individuals who put them forward, and that the most competent people should be selected for office irrespective of their personalities,[47] the UN Charter puts forward an ideal of extending Weber's notion of bureacratic authority into international relationships.[48] Persons and nations are expected to enter into relationships on the basis of a legal rational authority structure.

However, the UN Charter also incorporates features which show a more traditional pattern of authority. Certain nations, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council,[49] occupy a position of authority which is derived from their position in world politics rather than from their particular technical competence as outlined in the modern model. Moreover, even where the authority structures conform most closely with the modern model, in the organisation of the Secretariat and International Civil Service, national quota systems and attempts to achieve balance between the representation of different nations, may mean that those in authority do not have that authority solely on criteria of technical competence.[50]

In this context, it is important to note that Weber, in his notion of legal bureaucratic authority explicitly excludes its application to a

parliament.[51] A major feature of international society is the UN General Assembly, which is constituted as a parliament and is therefore not strictly modern in the sense of being legal and rational.

One of the difficulties of the international model is that there are at least two separate authority structures. Nations participate as nations in the General Assembly and the Security Council. In these cases the units which relate to each other are nation states. In the Secretariat and specialised organs of the UN, individuals participate on the basis of their own individual expertise. Any individual may therefore be connected with the UN in two ways. He is a member of international society because he is a citizen of a state which is a member of the UN, and he may also hold an office on the basis of his own personal competence.

There are therefore three spheres of operation within the UN: between diplomats and participants in UN conferences, who represent their nation's interests, between the international civil servants, who participate as individuals, and between the civil servants and representatives of nations.

Each sphere has its own particular authority structure. The first relationship is traditional in the sense that some nations have particular prerogatives due to their position, for example as members of the Security Council.[52] The second relationship is modern in the sense that authority is impersonal and governed by written regulations within the civil service, and UN civil servants are obliged to perform their duties independently from their own countries (Article 100). The third relationship is neither precisely defined as modern or

traditional, but can be an area in which there is some lack of clarity over which authority structure is dominant.

4.2 Institutions

Membership in the United Nations is open to all peace loving states.[53] The admission of any such state to membership is based on the multilateral treaty and effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council (Article 4).

Individuals participate in the UN either on the basis of their nation, or as individuals with particular technical competence. Selection procedures may therefore be based primarily on nationality, as with the case of representatives to the General Assembly, or on individual competence demonstrated through examinations or diplomas, as with the case of civil servants.[54] In some cases recruitment may be based on a mixture of the two. Selection procedures for certain UN positions specify particular national criteria.[55] The Secretary-General and the staff (Articles 97 and 101), judges of the International Court of Justice (Articles 3,4, and 5, the Statute of the International Court of Justice), members of the Military Staff Committee (Article 42-2), members of the Economic and Social Council (Article 86), and members of the Trusteeship Council (Articles 97-101) must be selected on grounds of personal competence, but also in such a way as to maintain a general international balance between the representation of different nation states.

The individuals who participate in UN activities directly are remunerated in accordance with the modern model.[56] They receive salaries, in cash, for their services, and are not expected to

appropriate any of the authority of their office for their own individual benefit.

The major modern features of the UN are to be found in the organisation of Secretariat, subsidiary organs, specialised agencies, and other international organisations. The major traditional features are to be found in the General Assembly and the Security Council. There are, in addition, institutions which relate to the peculiarly internation purpose of the UN, and to the maintenance of international peace, order and justice. The major international features are found in Secretariat and in the International Court of Justice.[57]

4.3 Rules

In the light of the UN Charter, the ideal society is based on international laws and equality of sovereign states in order to maintain international peace and security by international understanding and cooperation in all fields. In particular, the maintenance of international peace and security involves the prevention of international disputes or threats to peace. To this end the number of formal rules and principles adopted for the maintenance of peace, in the form of international laws and various treaties, have been increasing.[58]

In terms of participating in international society, citizens of all member states of the UN are affected in two ways. All citizens, to the extent that they are called upon to recognise Universal Human Rights and respect other cultures and persons, are members of general international society. In addition, diplomats, representatives and envoys of national governments participate in international meetings

and conferences which form a specific international society. General and specific features of international man and knowledge can be related to involvement at these two levels.

Some important human rights and duties prescribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are as follows. 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood' (Article 1). Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, nationality or social status, nor on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs (Article 2). These rights which are accorded to persons as a matter of principle, without reference to their status, show the modern nature of general international society.

Education ought to be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Parents have prior rights to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children (Article 26).

Duties of general international men are also specified in legal rational terms, and the limit of a person's responsibilities under the law are stated in formal regulations. Everyone is subjected only to the limitation of law (Article 29). Everyone is entitled to a social and international order, in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully exercised, so long as these are not interpreted contrary to the purposes and principles of the UN (Article 29).

Besides this international knowledge for man to participate in the general international society those who participate in the specific operations of international agencies will also require specific knowledge.[59] The precise nature of this knowledge will depend on the position the individual holds, and may include knowledge of international law, treaties and protocols, or technical, scientific and business information. Above all, overall knowledge of international law and of official languages are essential.[60]

Specific international men could have knowledge of a narrow range selected from the above; it is not expected that any one man/woman would have specific knowledge in all of them.

The Unesco 1974 Recommendation on International Education emphasised general international knowledge as desirable for all people. International understanding, international cooperation, and international peace, and a knowledge of human rights and fundamental freedoms should be promoted through international education in all levels and all forms of education.[61]

Specific international men ought first to have those qualities required of general international men. In addition, the following rights apply particularly to specific international men. Education should promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among individuals from all nations, racial or religious groups, and further the activities of the UN for the maintenance of peace (Article 26). In this way it should form attitudes which dispose the specific international men to work in an atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation with people from other countries and possibly live for

prolonged periods in foreign countries. The Unesco recommendation does not suggest how specific international knowledge should be acquired through the process of education.

5 Summary

Three models of traditional, modern, and international society, man, and knowledge are clearly distinguishable. Traditional society is based on patronage and individuals are assigned status according to their position within groups. Modern society is bureaucratic and individuals are assigned rights and status in accordance with their individual qualifications and competences. International society is intended to increase cooperation, and to extend the model of modern society into the arena of international relationships. Some traditional features, however, persist in the international model.

The traditional features of the international model cannot be regarded as accidental, or as remnants of inappropriate attitudes on the part of those working in international society. Group orientation, and according status to individuals on the basis of their positions as representatives of national groups, are central to the arrangements which are made for international diplomatic cooperation and international organisations modelled on the UN.

In the following chapters, the models developed of traditional, modern and international societies will be used to exemplify, in the study of Japan's historical evolution, how the problems identified in Chapter I arose. The Meiji restoration represented a conscious attempt on the part of the leaders of Japan to modernise the social, political and economic institutions of Japan. A similar attempt was made in the

period which followed 1945. The models are used to assess the extent to which their intention to modernise found expression in the constitution, and to what extent traditional features persisted, both in the constitution and in practice.

CHAPTER III

IDEAL JAPANESE SOCIETY, MAN AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE LIGHT OF THE TRADITIONAL AND MODERN MODELS

Dual Nature of Traditional and Modern Features

1 Introduction

The period which followed the Meiji Restoration of 1868, and that which followed 1945, were both periods in which conscious attempts were made to modernise Japan. In this chapter, ideal typical normative models will be constructed for Japanese society for each of the two periods.

For the first period, the Imperial Oath of Five Articles was the document on which the modernisation of Japan was based. It took the form of an oath sworn by the Meiji emperor in Kyoto Shishin Palace. It set out, very briefly, the main features which were seen as desirable in a modern society. Later documents such as the Education Act of 1872, the Imperial Rescript on Education, reformed Education Acts and the curriculum of the subject shushin, are needed in order to help fill out the details of the Imperial Oath, and to show how the general terms were interpreted. An important feature of this analysis is that the Oath itself contained a mixture of traditional and modern elements, which were later interpreted in such a way as to place emphasis on traditional features.

In the second period, the 1946 Constitution is a much more detailed document, laying down predominantly modern ideas in detailed provisions for laws and institutions in all fields. However, in this case too an important feature of the analysis is the way in which

these provisions have been interpret ed in a more traditional way, and that subsequent legislation has tended to stress traditional features.

The legitimacy of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles as the basic document for the construction of the ideal model rests on the ground that it expressed the basic principles for building a new Japan during the Meiji period.[1] The new Japanese Constitution of 1946 is generally understood as the fundamental norm of Japanese society for the second major reform of the country.

It is to be expected that changes will take place more rapidly in the normative patterns of a country than in either the institutional or the 'mental states' of the people.[2] However, in this chapter it is argued that even in the normative patterns, modernisation was far from complete. By using the models developed in Chapter II, the statements of aims of modernisation can be analysed in order to show that a complex mixture of traditional and modern institutions were envisaged in the name of modernisation.

The Japanese ideal of society, man, and knowledge can be drawn from the above documents. These ideal typical normative models of man, society and knowledge which are constructed on the above documents include some features which are modern and some which are traditional. An attempt is made to classify traditional and modern features of society, and knowledge in Japanese ideal models. Modern features were adopted in both reforms, largely as a result of external pressure on Japan. Adoption of modern features therefore indicates dependency at the level of international relations, although it was intended to increase independency in personal relationships. Where it occured, rejection of modern features meant that traditional ways were

maintained, that is, dependent personal relationships persisted. In later chapters, this will be shown to be obstacle to the introduction of modern social institutions of the type Weber described as bureaucratic.

2 Historical Perspectives (1868-1945) based on the Imperial Oath of Five Articles

The Imperial Oath of Five Articles was promulgated by the new government of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 in the Kyoto Shishin Palace. The Emperor swore the Oath by tenchishinmei, the God of heaven and earth. This followed the precedent of Emperor Khotoku at the time of taikakaishin, the Reform of the Taika era in 646.[3] The Imperial Oath of Five Articles is given in full below for reference in the analysis.[4]

1. Public councils shall be organised, and all governmental affairs shall be decided by general discussion.
2. All classes, both rulers and ruled, shall with one heart devote themselves to the advancement of the national interests.
3. All the civil or military officials and all the common people shall be allowed to realise their own aspirations, and to evince their active characteristics.
4. All base customs of former times shall be abolished, and justice and equity as they are universally recognised shall be followed.
5. Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, and thus the foundations of the Empire shall be extended.

Prior to the analysis, the nature and the situation under which the Imperial Oath was promulgated will be explained to elucidate the original source of the complication and contradiction which finds expression in the statement of the Oath. The year of 1868 was the starting point for Japan's modernisation. The country was changed by revolution from the long-established feudal Tokugawa regime to a newly established government at all levels. The new government consisted of princes, court nobles, feudal lords, clansmen, and common people in the central government, and feudal lords in the local government.[5] These feudal lords acted as the governors of their own hanryo or feudal domain which later became prefectures. Most of them naturally carried with them the traditional norm of society, man, and knowledge. On the other hand, some of them adopted modern ideas.

The Imperial Oath of Five Articles was drawn up by three men from the group of powerful feudal lords and clansmen. Each of them came from a different han or feudal clan. They had been under the Tokugawa but came to the side of the Emperor against the Tokugawa in order to bring about the Meiji Restoration. They then became members of the upper council in the central government.[6] One of them, the councillor Kido, had edited the last draft of the Oath, and his ideas had played an important part in the wording of it. Later, he participated in the Iwakura Mission abroad to Western countries and North America in 1871 as Vice-envoy for the special mission.[7] His involvement in this mission indicates that he was receptive to modern ideas, in spite of his traditional background. Thus, it is certain that traditional and modern ideas were confused in these men in themselves, as well as in the Oath.

The Oath stipulated the overall aim of establishing a progressive

modern state,[8] together with the positive aim of reviving the ancient authority of the Emperor.[9] From this source, stems the mixture of traditional and modern ideas and the complicated contradiction between them to be found in the statements of the Oath. To some extent such confusion was inevitable during a period of such rapid change.

2.1 Ideal Society

In the Imperial Oath of Five Articles, some aspects of traditional or modern society are found clearly expressed while some are implicit. The ideal society consists of the Emperor and the people, who are described as 'civilian or military officials and common people'. The Emperor was to be thought of as the 'only legitimate holder of the government's power, His Majesty'.[10] This clearly established an absolute and autocratic monarchy, with authority vested personally in the Emperor. Thus, the Emperor's status and power rest in the traditional model.

References to other members of society are ambiguous. In describing members of the civilian and military organisations as officials, it is implied that they have a modern relationship to the bureaucracy, with limited and specific responsibilities. They are bureaucratic 'officials' in 'public councils', which is a modern role. At the same time they are also described as 'rulers', and most of them belonged to the classes of the peerage or the clansmen.[11] The term ruler implies a traditional mode of authority which is appropriated to the person himself. This class discrimination indicates an irrational hierarchical society, which is traditional. However, the intention of abolishing 'all irrelevant customs of former times', shows a clearly modern feature. Thus the new order can be seen as involving some

traditional elements.

As for organisations, they could be established on either the modern or the traditional model. The Oath referred to bureaucratic institutions,[12] or 'public councils', in such fields as 'politics, economics, society', and education to disseminate 'knowledge' which would be of value to bureaucratic administrative staff or 'officials', which implied selection procedures for those official positions based on technical knowledge. This would be in accord with Weber's ideal of a modern bureaucracy. But the traditional features of authority mentioned above have implications for the way in which such organisations could operate.

The context of organisations also mixed aspects which are modern and aspects which are traditional. The institution of public councils was intended to increase the level of technical knowledge brought to bear on problems, and to improve the process of democratic decision making. This is a modern development. At the same time, the entire decision making process was supposed to be under the absolute control and personal authority of the Emperor, which is traditional.

The mode of recruitment of 'officials' was not explicitly set out in the Oath of Five Articles. This was specified in more detail in the Decree of Government Institutions.[13] The decree clearly indicated that members of the government who are commoners, clansmen, feudal lords, and official representatives of each prefecture or fu (former han) should be recruited on the basis of public election, and that each official should resign his post every four years.[14] There was to be a hierarchy of officials and councillors comprised of the grades choshi,

giji and sanyo.[15] Each of these groups were to be appointed from the appropriate social group. The hierarchy was therefore based on traditional societal patterns, and does not form a rational hierarchy in Weber's sense.

In local government, governors of the prefecture were to be appointed from the feudal lords in their own feudal domain.[16]

The mode of remuneration of government officials was in line the modern model of bureaucratic administration. Reference to a system of remuneration in money is found in the literature.[17]

The relationships of authority between members of staff and superiors, were a mixture of modern and traditional. They were governed by 'relevant rules', which is modern and bureaucratic in Weber's sense. However, 'relevant rules' meant the traditional social rules which specified that 'personal loyalty' was of great importance. This personal loyalty was to be expected of all members of society with 'all classes devoting themselves... to the national interest' and 'involving themselves in such fields as politics, education, society, and economics for the extension of the foundation of the Empire and rulers'.

Economic activity and its development would follow the same framework of bureaucratic institutions as was established in the field of government. Members of profit making organisations were to follow modern patterns of administration, but the traditional authority of persons persisted.[18] They were controlled by 'rulers' - political civilian officials with personal authority. As a consequence, economic activities were restricted and limited by the government, but in the

interests of the people in the authority - 'rulers' for the 'national interest' and 'for the foundation of the Empire'. A monopolistic capital system of economics would develop.[19] These aspects are traditional.

2.2 Ideal Man

In the same way that two models of society found in the Oath were contradictory, so also was the ideal model of man.

The behaviour of the ideal man was to be oriented towards his own individual development, based on his own competence.[20] This indicates a modern aspect, although man's individuality was restricted by traditional features of personal relations based on loyalty and traditional rules. As a consequence, man should conform to the collective behaviour of the group, which is a traditional aspect. The relationship between the Emperor and the people, including commoners and 'official' or 'rulers', is based not on abstract principles but on concrete or absolute rules.(Article 5)[21] These rules emphasised loyalty to the Emperor and officers who hold traditional authority under him. This shows the relationship between traditional features - 'a chief and subject' - and modern features - administrative 'officers' in 'public councils'.[22]

In this context, the traditional features are more prominent than the modern. Behaviour, decision, and the exercise of one's personal competence rest substantially in the traditional model - the 'double sphere of the chief and subjects' - and little space is left for 'subjects' to operate within legal rules. Man possesses dual features of modern and traditional man. Hierarchical status is ascribed to

classes of 'rulers', comprising the Emperor and 'civilian or military officials', and ruled 'common people'. The traditional features of man are based on an irrational hierarchy of classes in terms of authority. The notion of traditionally privileged people, 'civilian or military officials', and underprivileged common people can be contrasted with the features of modern man indicated by an 'abolition of all irrelevant customs of former times'.

The rights of man are recognised in the Imperial Oath of Five Articles through following 'relevant customs', 'justice and equity', and rights 'to realise one's own aspirations and to evince one's active characteristic'. These indicate modern aspects but are ambiguously stated. Again man's rights are limited under the absolute control of chief, the Emperor and 'rulers', 'civil or military officials' in authority as advisors to the Emperor.

In brief, man was to be allowed to be independent, which is modern, but his independence was to be limited by his chief's prerogative, which is traditional. Man, in order to fit in the contradictory society, was to be given full opportunity to develop his own potential. Education was to be a means to this personal development. In this connection, the Ordinance of Stimulating Learning stated that all people were to be treated as equal, irrespective of class, sex, or education, and that all people should receive education whereby there should not be one family in the whole Empire which was illiterate. Such an education was to be for the advancement of a person's life career.[23] These aspects are modern.

On the other hand, each person was expected to 'devote himself to the

activities of the national interest', 'involve himself in politics, economics, and society'...'for the extension of the foundation of the Empire'. Education thus contains dual purposes for man; one is personal fulfilment, the other is the national good. The intention was that self advancement would motivate people to act in a way that would advance the national good. Thus, education was ...'for advancement in his life career' for which a man should be utilitarian, by 'avoiding impractical theory and carrying academic discussion too far'.[24]

The indication of man's status in the Oath is obviously confused, contradictory, and a complicated mixture of the modern and traditional models.

2.3 Ideal Knowledge

As with the ideal society and man, two models of knowledge are to be found in the Oath; one traditional and the other modern. The basic knowledge required by an individual in society was indicated as 'relevant customs'. Since the Oath specifically mentions the abolition of irrelevant customs, which can be presumed to be the traditional rules, it can be supposed that the intention was that the 'relevant customs' would be modern. Details of what were to be relevant customs were not specified in the Oath, but were to be established by later decrees issued in the light of the Oath.[25] The way in which laws and rules were to be established is suggestive of concrete and authoritarian rules under absolute authority. Accordingly, knowledge of how to conform to the Emperor's and "officers'" wishes was also necessary. This aspect is traditional. Knowledge of the 'relevant customs', laws, and regulations was to be obtained through a common process of education.[26] The curriculum of shushin, or ethics, and

Japanese reading were to serve for this purpose, together with the ideas of Christianity in mission schools.

The traditional knowledge of a code of loyalty based on Confucianism came to be stressed in shushin from 1880 onwards, with the issue of the Ordinance of Education in 1879, which replaced the Education Act of 1872. Through these successive reforms of the educational norms, traditional attitudes to authority within the family were extended to cover authority relationships within the country as a whole. This developed into the system of National Shintoism, in which the Emperor was viewed as the father of the whole country, and loyalty was due to him personally, because of his ascribed position. Thus loyalty came to be linked with nationalism in the 'Imperial Rescript on Education' of 1886, with imperialism from 1910, and with fascism from 1919.[27]

'Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world' (Article 5) indicates that the kind of knowledge which was to be advanced was modern, and could not be found in traditional Japanese society. Specific knowledge of bureaucracy (Article 1) and business was to be advanced through technical training in technical schools, professional schools, miscellaneous schools and universities.[28] National and human science and philosophical ideas were also to be taught in secondary schools and universities. In contrast to the basic knowledge which tended to be traditional, specific knowledge of technical, scientific, and philosophical ideas were clearly modern.

3 Current Perspectives (since 1945) Based on the Japanese Constitution

3.1 Ideal Society

In the light of the Japanese Constitution of 1946, the ideal society is based on legally enacted laws and rules. (Constitution, preamble, and Article 98)[29] This aspect would imply the main features of the modern society, that is, democratic, bureaucratic, and rationally hierarchical society.[30] The Constitution instituted the main features of a democratic society, which were outlined in general terms in the preamble of the Constitution, and in detail in the Chapters of the Constitution. These included the rights and duties of the people,(Chapter 3, Articles 10-40) and the status of the Emperor as the symbol of the Japanese people under the sovereign power of the people.(Chapter 1)[31] Pacificism was adopted by renouncing the right of belligerency.(Chapters 2 and 9) The Constitution also set out the structure of bureaucratic government institutes, namely the Diet,(Chapter 4) Cabinet,(Chapter 5) the Judiciary,(Chapter 6) and autonomous local government,(Chapter 8) supplemented by the principles of state finance,(Chapter 7) the Supreme Law on the fundamental human rights in accordance with international laws,(Chapter 10) and the Procedure of revising the Constitution and its promulgation. (Chapter 9)

The rationally hierarchical aspect of society is suggested by the following; 'The people shall be given equal right of receiving education according to their ability'.(Article 26) A hierarchy of official positions was set out in the Constitution, along with the mode of recruitment of superiors and officials (Articles 67,68,73).

The bureaucratic society is exemplified by the bureaucratic

administration (Chapter 4 - Diet, Chapter 5 - Cabinet, Chapter 6 - Judiciary), and Local Autonomous Government with bureaucratic officials (Article 15), with clearly defined areas of responsibility and authority for each defined by the Constitution. Other institutions or organisations in such fields as politics, economics, education, and society were to be arranged under the rights of 'freedom to organise' of individuals (Article 21), to function under regulated laws (Article 27), and to make decisions through constitutional organs. In this way public institutions were to have limited authority over the lives of individuals, and were to function in such a way that their authority could not be appropriated for personal use.

The bureaucratic society shows a character of separation and independence. The ideal society consists of independent family units.(Article 24) Separation of office from living quarters is obviously implied in 'the right of corporate organisation' (Article 21) and 'the right of free domicile' (Article 22) for an independent family. The independence of people from their superiors is clearly indicated by a number of articles. The Emperor was to be a symbol of the people (Article 1); he was to act in national affairs only in accordance with limits specified in the Constitution, and he was to have no competence or authority regarding the national administration.(Article 4) The people were to have sovereign power,(Article 4) and officials were to be servants of the people (Article 15). Thus, it is clear that the authority of officials was to be bounded by relevant legal norms.

The mode of recruitment of the superior and officials follow the modern model. The processes of selection for the hierarchy were

stipulated. The Prime Minister is designated (Article 67), ministers appointed (Article 68), Members of Diet elected (Article 44), and other officials appointed with or without the selection on the basis of technical qualification. The mode of selection, qualification, official employment, freedom to select one's position, and to resign under certain circumstances are further stated in the National Public Service Law.[32] The system of promotion follows such rules as seniority or achievement, or both, and also the judgement of the official's superior.

The modern aspect of remuneration is set out in Article 15, the Constitution.[33] Officials receive remuneration by fixed salary in money with a right to pensions. The salary scale is primarily graded according to hierarchical ranks but special remuneration is based on the responsibility of the position and the requirements of the incumbent's social status.

In connection with relationships of authority between staff and superiors, some features are explicitly stated in the National Public Service Law. Offices and officials are organized hierarchically.[34] Officials are personally free in the light of the Human Rights (Constitution: Articles 12,13,14) and subject to authority, although they are public servants only with respect to their impersonal official obligations as governed by the laws and regulations of the office they hold. Offices are filled by free contractual relationships. An official is subjected to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of his office. The office is treated as the occupation of the incumbent and it constitutes a career.

Other institutions which were not mentioned in the Constitution were established by law in a number of fields. In the social field, welfare organisations were to include welfare institutions, organisations of health and insurance, organisations relating to labour, and public enterprise bodies. Economic organisations were to include profit making businesses and private enterprises serving ideal or material ends. Educational organisations were to include state administrative organisations, educational institutions, and organisations of local educational administration.[35]

Economic activity is open and the capitalistic system of economy was to be developed under modern authority. The modern form of economic organisations and bureaucratic administration with officials and businessmen were to be governed by related laws and regulations. The Law Concerning the Prohibition of Private Monopoly and Fair Trade Security shows a modern feature.[36]

3.2 Ideal Man

A number of features of the ideal modern man are identified in the Constitution supplemented by the Fundamental Law of Education, and the School Education Law, particularly where these laws deal with the subjects of dotoku, moral education, and social study.

Ideal man has human rights,(Article 11-40) although in return he has the obligation to abide by laws and regulations.(Article 12 and 98) The relationship between the superior and officials is based on imperative co-ordination by legal and individual competence in modern bureaucratic organisations, which is rationally hierarchical.[37] Man, being in this relation, has naturally hierarchical status but he is

free to choose his occupation or to reject his post under rational circumstances. Man is subjected to an impersonal order and impersonal obligation of office. He owes obedience to laws and the related rules of the organisation.[38]

According to Weber's model of an ideal hierarchical bureaucracy, an official is entitled to work within a limited sphere of responsibilities, specified by written laws, rules and norms. He is to be a 'civil servant' with clear liabilities.[39] But according to Weber, the written laws and rules should be abstract principles, and any rule should be justified or legitimated in terms of general principles.[40] Any rule should be open to question, criticism or acceptance in the light of those general principles, and the official should have a right of appeal to the next higher level in the bureaucracy in cases of disagreement between himself and his immediate superior.

The Japanese Constitution, with its associated legislation, is extremely detailed, comprising concrete rules of operation rather than general or abstract principles. Such concrete rules are not seen as a coherent whole which can be justified in terms of general principles, but are seen as binding rules in their own right. In this case, superior officials may be able to use the written rules to constrain the actions of their subordinate officials, and to use the rules as a vehicle for their traditional mode of authority. Where the concrete rules are not seen as an expression of an abstract principle, but are seen as being of value in their own right, no independent criteria will be available by which to assess any appeal to a higher level in the bureaucracy, even where such an appeal is technically possible. Thus the existence of written rules governing the occupation of

officials does not guarantee that the official is operating within the modern model of authority. With detailed and concrete rules covering specific circumstances, there is still the possibility that traditional authority will be exercised within the framework of a bureaucracy.

According to the Constitution, man is entitled to a specified sphere of function regarding obligation, provision, and compulsion in administrative organs. Here, man has a double sphere of action in terms of his occupation. He has a specified role in terms of his official position, but he is free to exercise his individuality within those specified limits. Since the boundary between these two spheres is stated concretely, features of the traditional man may be found in practice depending upon the nature of the authority and of the bureaucratic administration in practice.[41] Within the area of his own individuality a man may still choose to function, or be obliged by concrete rules to function, in a traditional fashion. Although, in theory, a man is not personally responsible for decisions made in his official capacity, and therefore opposition ought to be directed to the system, man's double sphere of action means that there is scope for the emergence of traditional features of man, and that opposition may be directed to the person in authority.

In order to exercise his human rights and obligations, everyone has to be brought up to be an ideal, that is individual and responsible, man, through compulsory education (Article 26). An ideal man is stipulated in the Fundamental Law of Education as having 'the right of individuality' (Preamble) and 'full development of personality...who shall esteem individual value, respect labour and have a deep sense of responsibility and be imbued with the independent spirit...as builders

of the peaceful state and society.' The Fundamental Law of Education emphasised that the ideal man shall serve the national good by stating, 'He shall endeavour to contribute to the creation and development of culture'.(Article 2) Thus, education is to meet individual needs, which aspect is modern, but in addition for the national good, which aspect is traditional.

In accordance with the basic spirit stated in the Constitution and the School Education Law, the courses of study of elementary and secondary schools regulate specifically the ideal Japanese man in social studies, which was introduced in 1947, and then in dotoku in 1958. Social study aims to develop an ideal civic man who is a builder of a democratic and peaceful state and society.[42] Dotoku aims at an ideal Japanese man who possesses the spirit to esteem humanity, who exercises such a spirit in life, who strives for the development of culture, society and state, and who can contribute to the international society.[43] The content of the curriculum of dotoku was further emphasised by a booklet published by the Central Advisory Council of Education in the 1966, called The Image of the Ideal Japanese.[44] In this booklet the ideal man is portrayed as being an individual, a member of the family, a member of society and a member of the Japanese nation. The ideal man portrayed in The Image of the Ideal Japanese is compatible with modern man. The ideal man portrayed in social study is a man who is a member of a family and society. Individuality indicated in dotoku serves dual purposes, for the person himself and for the ideal society. In this context, the ideal man is conceived as being individual, which is modern. However, the emphasis put on his position in social groups and his double sphere of responsibility implies traditional features in practice.[45]

3.3 Ideal Knowledge

Ideal knowledge consists of the basic knowledge for man to be recognised as an individual person, and specialised knowledge for man to be an official or workman in the bureaucratic cooperation. Features of this modern knowledge are identified in courses of studies for elementary and secondary schools, which are regulated in accordance with the School Education Law.

Basic knowledge is obtained through a common process of education transmitted through compulsory elementary and lower secondary schools.[46] All subjects correspond to the basic knowledge.[47] However, social study [48] conveys laws and regulations for an ideal civil man to be individual and dotoku,[49] in particular, indicates the basic knowledge required to be individual man himself, as a member of family, society, and state and a man who can further contribute to international society.

Specialised knowledge is disseminated through a wide range of upper secondary and tertiary educational institutions.[50] Technical colleges specialise in technical training, special and miscellaneous schools in business education, while upper secondary schools and colleges may offer a range of specialised studies. The universities transmit specialised knowledge to prospective senior bureaucrats, as well as students of medicine and law. Knowledge of an empirical character developed by experience in service is acquired through the conduct of office. The necessity of this knowledge is implied in the Constitution (Chapters 4,5,6) and indicated in the State Public Service Law.[51] Specialised technical knowledge both, bureaucratic and business, is

the necessary qualification for candidates to Civil Service posts.[52] Candidates for private organisations follow a similar selection procedure.

Weber notes that either technical knowledge or knowledge of the concrete facts within an official's sphere of interest may constitute commercial secrets, and that the generation and use of such knowledge is an important source of the power of the bureaucracy. This feature of this modern knowledge is legally protected by the Constitution. (Article 21)

4 Summary

The study conducted in this chapter has shown that both the Imperial Oath of Five Articles of 1868 and the Japanese Constitution of 1946 were introduced with the intention of establishing modern normative views on society. Major provisions in both cases dealt with the establishment of new institutions, which could be changed more easily than the 'mental state' of the Japanese people. However, distinctive features of both the modern and traditional models are found combined in a complicated and contradictory fashion in the Imperial Oath of Five Articles. This is also true in the case of the Japanese Constitution, but to a lesser extent.

In both cases the legislation which accompanied the reforms showed a tendency towards specifying the operation of new and reformed institutions in great detail. The legislators made legal provision for specific concrete situations, rather than providing general or abstract rules. In this respect they departed from the model suggested by Weber, and to this extent they failed to be "modern" in the sense

in which the word is used in this thesis. In the Japanese context, higher officials could use the codes of concrete rules in order to further their use of their own personal authority on the traditional model. As a consequence, many features of the traditional model are found in practice. The study of this will form the content of Chapters IV and V. But the study conducted in this chapter indicates that the confusion of traditional and modern features occurs in theory as well.

In this context, the intention of applying the two models of traditional and modern authority in constructing the Japanese ideal model was to illustrate the ambiguous nature of many of the normative statements of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles, and of the Japanese Constitution. As a consequence of developing these models with particular reference to Japanese legislation, it will be possible to identify persistent features of the traditional model in the way in which modern and bureaucratic norms are interpreted in Japan. This dual nature of the Japanese ideal model, in combining traditional and modern norms of society, man and knowledge, is central to the study of Japanese institutions which follows.

CHAPTER IV

RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF PRACTICE (1868-1945)

Identification of Traditional and Modern Features

1 Introduction

In this chapter, the models of Japanese society, man and knowledge developed in the previous chapter are applied to the historical development from 1868 to 1945, with a brief introduction relating to the pre-Meiji period of the Tokugawa.

Major 'mental states' can be identified which persist from the era of the Tokugawa, while modern features were adopted from advanced countries of Europe or North America. The operation of these diverse norms and mental states is studied in the areas of politics, economics, education and the family system.

The balance of traditional and modern ideas is not the same in all areas, but, in general, modern ideas were accepted in laws and ordinances, while traditional family practices and styles of authority, were retained. Political and economic policies were put forward on the grounds that modern institutions could be used to advance the country. However, within those modern instituions traditional relationships, particularly relationships which were modelled on family relationships, continued to flourish. Ultimately this meant that many institutions which were introduced to serve the interests and expression of the individual were transformed by the authority structures into institutions which served the national interest.

The modernisation of the education system was seen as crucial to the development of Japan and to survival in the world after Japan was forced to become more open after 1868. There was ambiguity in the documents of the early period as to whether the education system should serve individual interests or state interests. Indeed, in the light of traditional Japanese views of individuality, such a dichotomy would have been hard to articulate in that period. The study of education in this chapter indicates that this ambiguity was increasingly resolved in terms of making education an instrument of the state, used for the good of the state. This brought about a failure to produce modern men, or men with an individualistic orientation.

Modern institutions and ideas were adopted in some aspects of life. For example, housing, diet, attire, music, sport and travel were considerably modernised. In other areas, particularly regarding mariage, divorce, family life, human relations and suicide, modern ideas were rejected. Those involved in the introduction of new ideas in some areas have rarely recognised that any problem was likely to arise from the conflict of novelty with traditional 'mental states'. The study in this chapter shows, however, that there was substantial retention of traditional 'mental states' and that this did produce problems in many areas of life over the period 1868 to 1945.

The rejection of modern ideas in the field of human relations meant that there was direct conflict between modern ideas and traditional 'mental states'. Few Japanese observers have seen this as a problem, partly because this tradition of openness to

new ideas which are then accomodated within a traditional framework is certainly derived from the concepts of Shintoism. Japanese society developed acording to a dual model which incorporated traditional and modern features in both theory and practice, and which pervaded all areas of social and political life.

2 Politics

2.1 Pre-Meiji

For some 260 years before the Meiji Restoration, traditional authority was exercised by the personal feudal chief, the Tokugawa, in the bakuhan regime, the centralised feudal political system.[1] The members of the bakuhan regime were the Tokugawa's retainers, who were recruited on a patrimonial basis. Direct retainers of the Tokugawa were appointed by the Tokugawa and those of the feudal lord by their own lord. The relations between the Tokugawa and retainers were based on unlimited personal loyalty to the Tokugawa. The retainer's individuality was naturally not recognised. Knowledge required in the Tokugawa regime was based on the traditionally transmitted rules and the Tokugawa's personal rights and rules. The need for technical knowledge was limited to that of military matters. Within a double sphere of competence, both personal and administrative, a man's activities were restricted by the chief and the group.[2]

2.1.1 Political Regime: Post-Meiji

Politically, the period from 1868 to 1945 cannot be treated as single unit. There were a number of important political changes, which were associated with changes in the balance of modern and

traditional features in political practice. Even after the Imperial Oath of Five Artic les, political appointments, especially of the Prime Minister, depended on patronage.[3] This patronage was heavily dependent on the traditional authority structures in the Pre-Meiji han.[4] The realisation of a modern political regime, where such patronage was less evident, waited until 1918, when the legal rules set out in the Constitution of 1889 for the conduct of the Diet were first fully implemented. Further, Japanese policy underwent drastic changes from the initial stage of modernisation, from the han-oriented oligarchy (1868-1918), to the realisation of the modern political government (1918-1932), and to the traditional political authority, that is the military autocracy (1932-1945).[5]

The modern political regime and organisations emerged under external force exerted by advanced Western and American countries accompanied by an internal upheaval.[6] In the light of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles, the Japanese regime was established modelled on those advanced countries.[7] On the whole, features of the political regime can be identified as a combination of the modern and the traditional models, in which substantial modern features are found in the framework, and traditional features in the administration and the nature of man.

The modern features of the political regime as a structure can be identified in the following establishments.[8] The first bureaucratic government of 1868 was modelled on the USA Constitution, and a local self government system was formed roughly modelled on the Prussian system by 1889. The first

political party, Aikokuto, Public Society of Patriots, was formed in 1874. The modern cabinet system was established with reference to the system of USA and UK in 1885. The first Meiji Constitution was promulgated modelled on Prussian organic law in 1889, the first general election was held in 1890 and the first Imperial Diet was convened in 1890.

Six versions of the civil code were introduced. The first in 1890 was modelled on the French code. This was reconstituted modelled on the German code in 1898. The criminal code was modelled on the French code in 1882. The laws for the Constitution of the Courts, the Criminal Procedure Code, and the Code of Civil Procedure were passed in 1891. The Commercial Code was constituted in 1890 and reformed in 1899. Many Japanese who studied ideas and institutions of the North American and Western countries contributed to these political establishments. Specialist in law were invited to Japan as legal advisers for editing the above codes. These codes and laws enabled Japan to be a lawfully governed state, with written legal codes, which is a modern development in Weber's terms.

2.1.2 Organisations

The established political organisations were the central government, local government bodies, political parties, and other political organisations. The government of 1868 consisted of seven bureaux which included Gaikokukan, or Foreign Country Bureau, which was renamed Gaimusho, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1869.[9] The central government came to consist of the Cabinet, the Diet, and the Courts by 1918. Local government came

to include prefectures, districts, cities, towns, and villages by 1880.[10]

Political parties came into being after 1881 when Jiyuto, the Liberal party (1881-1884) was created.[11] Rikkenkaishinto, the Constitutional Progressive Party (1882-1896), Rikkenteiseito, the Constitutional Imperial or National Party (1882-1883) and other parties followed. Jiyuto advocated 'Liberty and People's Rights' and fusenundo or women's suffrage.[12] Political parties and the associated organisations show modern features with regards to their framework and operation.

The framework of the central and local governments are at least modern in their bureaucratic administration and the remuneration of officials in money. Traditional features remained, however, in the type of authority exercised, the autocratic control, the relations between the Emperor and officials and among officials, and the mode of recruitment.

Traditional authority based on centralised patrimonialism was exercised by an autocratic monarch, the Emperor, with his personal and substantial prerogatives in government.[13] Thus, the central government was operated extremely autocratically. Official appointments were based on hanbatsu,[14] which meant that the former clansmen of the powerful feudal lords occupied all official positions and controlled freedom and rights by issuing orders and controlling local government. In spite of ideas of local self-government included in the Meiji reforms, local government was controlled by the central government through kenrei, Prefectural Orders, and extensive patronage in the

recruitment of governors.[15]

The relationships between the Emperor and officials and among officials in the hierarchy was based on a double sphere of competence, and officials were expected to have both traditional knowledge in the form of transmitted rules and customs of loyalty, and modern knowledge of bureaucratic technical methods and knowledge of an empirical character. Thus, officials owed unlimited loyalty to the person in authority and to enacted rules. The nature of man was that of subject, and his individuality, although it was recognised, was limited within the Constitution and customary rules.

2.1.3 Policies

Until the Meiji Restoration, the national policies under the traditional feudal chief, the Tokugawa, aimed at maintaining the feudal system in the fields of politics, economics, education, and society. The Meiji government attempted to modernise the feudal system in order to catch up with advanced countries.[16] To this end national policies aimed at Fukokukyohei, enriching the country and strengthening the army, and Bunmeikaika, enlightening civilisation.[17] The policy of Fukokukyohei was to be realised through the development of the economy by the capitalistic system and the establishment of a modern polity. The policy of Bunmeikaika was promoted by adopting Western knowledge transmitted in the newly established educational institutions.

The foreign policies of the Tokugawa rested in the traditional model. There were no formal diplomatic relations with other

countries.[18] Naturally, no sort of treaty with foreign countries was concluded until 1854.[19] Then they were concluded with five countries under pressure from outside the country. From 1868 to 1933, the diplomatic policy of the Meiji government shows aspects of both a modern, open policy and a closed traditional policy. The modern features can be seen in the maintenance of the diplomatic relations with the five countries of the USA, England, Russia, Holland, and France, with which countries treaties were revised on equal terms by 1911.[20] Similar treaties were concluded with other countries, and Japan joined the League of Nations in 1921, and participated in disarmament conferences in Washington (1912-1922) and London (1930). Modern diplomatic relations with foreign countries were established, with Japanese Embassies and consulates and diplomats dispatched to these offices abroad. The traditional aspect of diplomatic relationships was reestablished when relationships were closed for member countries of the League of Nations and Japan withdrew from the League in 1933.

3 Economics

3.1 Pre-Meiji

Before the Meiji Restoration, the state of economic development can be classified as remaining in the traditional model under traditional authority. Economic enterprises were organised and functioned in the traditional form, based on the traditional relationships between the chief, the Tokugawa, and daimyo, feudal lordss, between the daimyo and business entrepreneurs, and between the businessmen and employees. The traditional knowledge of business - transmitted rules and customs - was obtained through apprenticeships.

Economic activities in Japan as a whole were controlled by the Tokugawa and restricted predominantly by his arbitrary prerogatives within traditional rules. Trade was closed to foreigners and to the class of commoners.[21] In the same way, economic activities in each feudal domain were controlled by the daimyo under the direction of the Tokugawa. All business enterprises were organised privately by a privileged class of commoners. Employees were recruited on a patrimonial basis. The businessmen received bribes for giving jobs. Certain businessmen received privileges in business activities from the daimyo. In return, in general, a daimyo or his administrators received personal appropriation in money or material kind from the businessmen, that is, bribery.[22] Economic activities were thus monopolised by commoners' private enterprises under the authority of the personal chief.

Manufacture was carried out on a limited scale, as was handicraft, in towns of the feudal domains, along with agricultural and commercial activities. Manufacturing activities hardly satisfied that demand, however, and the Tokugawa, daimyo and the administrators enjoyed many more economic privileges than commoners, except for the privileged businessmen. Neither the light industry - spinning, and textile manufacture - nor the heavy industry - mining, marine products, transportation, and communication could develop under the traditional authority and the traditional economic system.[23]

3.2 Post-Meiji

Following the Meiji Restoration, modern economic organisations and the capitalistic system were introduced. These were linked with bureaucratic management, a certain degree of modern relations in businesses, and substantial adoption of technical knowledge. The double features of the modern and traditional models in authority and administration can be seen in contrast to the above modern features. The traditional aspects can be identified in particular with respect to human relationships in business enterprises.

3.2.1 Economic Policy

In the development of industry, both the central government and the local prefectural government were most energetic in encouraging the establishment of modern economic organisations, with the popular slogan of 'enrichment of the country and strengthening of the army'. As the people were unfamiliar with knowledge of modern economics, they had difficulty in establishing modern economic organisations and the central government had to initiate such organisations as state enterprises.[24]

Later, when the government's enterprises made steady headway, they were disposed of by the government to the leading private economic organisations with special financial aid and various protections in their business activities.[25] As a consequence, economic organisations in Japan became monopolised by these zaibatsu, or giant family trusts.[26]

On the other hand, the government's enterprises were the models for minor enterprises.[27] The government's encouragement in establishing modern economic organisations took various forms. These included the foundation of model factories, the import of facilities, the opening of model markets at home and overseas, the publication of modern economic knowledge, and the adoption of Western methods and techniques. Foreign engineers, instructors and advisors, were employed by the government, which established institutions on the Western model to disseminate knowledge of technology and business administration.[28]

Economic activities were open for capitalistic corporations under the patrimonial, decentralised authority. But on the other hand, they were restricted by the government's policy of setting up large monopolies. Under decentralised authority, with a monopolised capitalistic economic system, Japan's economy would develop intensively.[29]

The establishment of economic organisations required both modern knowledge and modern men. These were modelled on Western and North American patterns.[30]

3.2.2 Economic Corporate Organisations

The establishment of the modern industrial organisation in Japan in the early period of Meiji depended entirely on Western technology in industry, commerce and technical institutions, the last of which was totally unknown in Japan before the Meiji.[31]

At the time of the Meiji Restoration, the modern methods of

foreign finance, of banking, or of joint-stock companies were unknown in Japan. The modern monetary system, which was a prerequisite for the development of industry, commerce, and communication, was thus imported from North American and Western countries. The banking, currency and credit systems were reformed, and joint-stock enterprises introduced by Japanese officials and European experts. The government initiated banking and joint-stock enterprises as models for private enterprises.[32]

Modern corporate organisations in the fields of economics were founded at first in light industries, centreing on spinning and textile manufacture. The capitalistic monetary system applied to joint-stock enterprises in financial circles or in the areas of industry, commerce, and communication. The heavy industries of mining, marine products, shipping, railways, post, telephone, and telegraph followed.

In order for the public to establish factories at home and to open markets overseas, the government undertook the establishment of model factories for silk reeling, spinning, cement and brick manufacture, the manufacture of soap, printing type, porcelain, faience, and paint.[33] The government also arranged for the display of foreign methods and industrial activities, and also participation in various industrial exhibitions overseas, and the opening of the Industrial Exhibition at home.[34] In the display of intense industrial activities in 1872, facilities such as machines and tools for factories and samples of small goods, knitted work, and raw materials for dyeing and weaving were exhibited to persons interested in the subject. These goods had

been imported from Europe and North America through officials who participated in overseas expositions. The displayed articles were loaned by the government, on application, to the prefectural governments.

At the time of the Meiji Restoration, the traditional enterprises of mining, shipping, and postal service existed, but those of railways, telephones and telegraph did not exist at all. Naturally, the modern corporate enterprises in these latter areas were inexistent. In the same way as with modern enterprises of factories, markets, and capitalistic banks and other joint-stock organisations, the people on the whole adhered to the traditional way, and were indifferent or opposed to modern ways.[35] The opposition was severe in the construction of railway and postal services. Securing telephone subscribers was difficult at first because the people were superstitious about the working of telephones.[36]

On the whole, the majority was simply sentimental about the traditional services or could not realise the benefit of modern enterprises, for the modern enterprises and technology were unknown to them. In constructing the railway, the commoners feared that it would cause them a heavier burden of additional taxes and that it would deprive the innkeepers and goods carriers living along the line of their livelihood.[37] Even some officials were against it, for they felt that, "If Japan were to make a foreign loan for the construction, it is as if to sell the country".[38] Regarding the postal service, porters and carriers opposed the system when they were deprived of their occupation.[39] Some commoners grumbled at it mainly because of its simple method

and democratic spirit. An out-of-date class of government officials felt that new system lowered their social rank, since they could no longer receive special privileges at the traditional post stations.

The establishment of modern corporate enterprises in the areas of mining, marine products, shipping, railways, post, telephones, and telegraph began from the 1870's, initiated by the government, for which Japan again followed Western models. Modern knowledge of the corporate organisation - business management and technology - was adopted from countries of North America and the West. Many foreign engineers and experts from these countries contributed to this by giving instruction on modern knowledge or advice directly in the businesses or institutions of the government and the related schools.[40]

By 1907, the establishment of modern economic corporate organisations within a capitalistic system in light and heavy industry was successfully completed and the public soon found the modern systems and services useful and effective.[41] In these areas of commerce and trade traditional economic organisations and activities disappeared.

4 Education

The ideal Japanese model constructed on the basis of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles indicated that the educational organisation, aims of education, the nature of man, and knowledge contained both modern and traditional features. The study hereafter will show to what extent the dual nature of the ideal

Japanese model appeared in the educational practice. The brief introduction of the later period Tokugawa's education will clarify traditional features of education which remained from the Meiji up to 1945.[42]

4.1 Pre-Meiji

Prior to the Meiji Restoration, there existed no national education system at all. However, a fairly systematised school system was already established, with schools organised by the Shogun and clans, and a system of basic education for commoners had developed voluntarily on a private basis throughout the country. In the former, a comparatively high quality of education up to university level was provided by the Shogun and clans. In the latter, the basic education of the lower level was open, and instruction was given mainly by priests, but also by cultivated persons with commercial knowledge, in temples.

Sons and daughters of the Shogun were educated in such a way as to ensure the continuation of the feudal system. The education provided within the feudal clans was similar. Each child was taught unlimited loyalty to his master. His individuality was unrecognised, and his activity was restricted by adherence to the group. All of the group were bound by their loyalty to the Tokugawa, the ultimate head of the feudal system. These aspects of the aims of education, and the nature of man which was promoted, were traditional.

In contrast, the education given in temple schools aimed at the personal fulfillment of commoners. This aspect is modern,

although, the nature of man which served as a guide to this type of education show both modern and traditional features. It was modern in terms of the individual acquiring independence by means of learning practical knowledge for everyday life in general but also specific knowledge for an occupation. On the other hand, it is traditional in terms that he owed loyalty to his business master and his parents and that he adhered to his group. Concerning sex, there was discrimination between male and female to the extent that both sexes were not allowed to sit side by side in the class. Yet, in this discrimination, the female commoners were less restricted than the females of the Shogun and feudal clans.

For both classes, required basic knowledge in schools were loyalty and customary rules, which were traditional. Specific knowledge differed between the two classes. Both traditional knowledge - Confucianism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Japanese and Chinese literatures, brush writing, and study of the Emperor - and modern knowledge - medicine, arithmetic, Western study, study of astronomy, and military study - were taught in schools of the Shogun and clans.[43] In contrast with this, only the traditional knowledge was taught in temple schools i.e., morality, social study, exercise of word study, letter writing, geography, industry, and counting.[44]

4.2 Post-Meiji

The national education system in aims, administration, finance, organisation, curriculum, teacher education, and universities, was established, modelled on North American and Western countries in order to produce the ideal man of dual nature to fit in with national policies.[45] To assist in establishing a national educational system a great number of foreigners from Northern American and Western countries and Japanese from abroad were involved, and educational books, facilities, and materials were adopted from those countries. The established educational system shows both modern and traditional features in its framework. However, its operation remained substantially traditional.

Before the Restoration, a sign of modernity was seen in the presence of some foreign teachers and Western books in Japan, and of some Japanese abroad. Immediately after the Restoration, there was a significant increase of their numbers, and this continued until 1911.[46] From 1933, this phenomenon ceased due to Japan's withdrawing from the League of Nations. The latter period shows a reversion to a traditional style.

Foreign teachers from North American and Western countries were employed in normal schools, national universities, public and private professional schools, and miscellaneous schools.[47] Some foreigners were employed in government offices as advisors and teachers.[48] In the case of the Japanese abroad, the Iwakura Mission Abroad to twelve countries showed a significant modern aspect, in terms of openness to external influences. The Mission had various purposes including an observation of educational

institutions abroad which were to be models of new, modern Japanese institutions, to cultivate ideal leaders and ideal women for Japan.[49]

4.2.1 Aims of Education

The Meiji government attempted to modernise Japanese traditional education as a matter of national policy, so that education might contribute to 'enriching the country and strengthening the army' through 'enlightening civilisation'.[50] In order to meet this educational aim, man's individuality is recognised within the limitation of the Meiji Constitution but it came to be restricted gradually through the later laws and ordinances on education.[51] This would enable man to possess dual nature. One is that he is individual and independent within the limitation of laws and the other is that he owes loyalty to the chief and elders e.g. the Emperor, teachers and parents.[52] By developing his individual self sufficiency,[53] he would fit well into the group and the state, and furthermore, he could serve 'the national good'.[54] The nature of man is thus formed of both modern and traditional aspects.

The established national education aimed to serve the national good in accordance with national policies, which is traditional in its implicit group orentation. But it sought to achieve this by way of man's civilisation. This could be interpreted as education aimed also at personal fulfilment, which is modern.

This modern aspect and the idea of equality were derived from Article 4, of the Imperial Oath of five Articles. The government

Regulation issued in the light of the Education Law of 1872 advocated the 'equality of four classes in education, equal educational opportunity for all, and individualism'.[55] This was elaborated as,'All people high or low and both sexes should be educated. Everyone should be literate. Compulsory education in elementary education is the responsibility of parents, and higher education should be left to the more gifted'.[56] The idea of equal educational opportunity was adopted in terms of compulsory education, the length of which gradually extended up to 8 years by 1890 for both sexes, and at higher levels.[57] This aspect is modern in suggesting that all should have an equal right to compete on the basis of their technical knowledge, without regard to their social position. But in practice this idea of equality of opportunity was rejected, with different schools for boys and girls from the secondary level. These separate schools had different status, and their curricula differed in certain respects.[58]

4.2.2 Administration

The French system was adopted in the educational administrative organisation. Monbusho, the Department of Education, was established in 1871 and the whole country was divided into 32 secondary school districts which were in turn each subdivided into 210 elementary school districts. Then one university, one secondary school, or one elementary school was established in each district. Thus, there were to be 8 universities, 256 secondary schools, ands 53,760 elementary schools throughout the country.[59]

The division of the whole country into administrative districts, in which all levels of schools were fairly well established, was achieved, although the numbers of districts and schools were not as originally planned.[60] The framework of bureaucratic administrative organisations with bureaucratic officials is modern, but local Boards of Education were controlled by the Ministry of Education, and chairmen of the Board of Education were appointed by the government on the basis of patronage, which is traditional.

4.2.3 Finance

Educational finance was entirely dependent upon public - local district - money, which was collected as a tax from each family. This idea that educational costs should be borne by the public of each district, rather than by the state, was derived from Western individualism. That education was for the individual himself was clearly stated in the 1872 Education Law. The principle that the state was only to protect schools and should not to intervene in education, was advanced by Y.Fukuzawa.[61] These ideas indicate modern attitudes.

At the time of establishing schools, the revenue was raised largely from individual contribution or from state land grants. But in practice the government made periodic subsidies to school districts for education; for building schools, buying educational books and machines, and paying teachers' salaries from 1873 until 1881.[62] In 1881 the state took on responsibility for educational finance of tuition and text books.[63] The way the government came to intervene and control education by way of financial subsidies

would indicate a retrenchment of traditional attitudes.

4.2.4 Organisation and Structure

The general structure of the system, including such provisions as age of admission into schools, level and stage of education, school type, courses and examination followed Western and North American models.[64] These were transplanted in order to establish the national educational system rapidly. As these patterns were not indigenous, some later modifications were made from time to time. These modifications served different purposes, and were mainly to suit the people in the earlier period, but to suit the national aim in the later period.[65]

The schools were categorised according to educational levels; elementary school, secondary school, and university.[66] At the secondary and tertiary levels there were specialised professional schools; normal schools and professional schools for foreign languages, law, medicine, commerce, industry, art, music, science, and literature. There were also girls' schools and a range of schools with miscellaneous specialities including foreign languages, academic, industrial and commercial courses, preparatory teacher training courses, and courses in midwifery, arts, and music, as well as schools for the dumb and blind and schools established by ministries and Hokkaido.

Schools were established by the Ministry of Education and other ministries (national schools and schools of Ministry), local government (public schools), and individuals (private schools). The Ministry of Education initially and energetically established

all levels of education and almost all types of schools, and encouraged local governments and individuals to establish or to re-organise similar schools in the earlier period so that the national educational system should develop. This was done largely because the central government alone did not have the financial resources to establish public schools in a large number of prefectures and cities.[67]

All schools, but particularly private schools, were organised in the same way as Western and North American institutions. Knowledge of Western ideas was encouraged.[68] The framework of these schools and adoption of Western knowledge into the curricula show the modern aspect of these educational reforms.

4.2.5 Curriculum

Western curricula and ideas were enthusiastically adopted into schools and other educational institutions immediately after the Restoration, although selectively.[69] General subjects of western culture, such as foreign languages, music, history, and physical education were introduced widely in primary and secondary schools.

After 1880 the government changed the curricula to include a larger proportion of Japanese content, with the intention of promoting nationalist feeling.[70] This was broadly in accord with the wishes of the majority of Japanese people, who had held on to traditional views, and for whom Western knowledge had no particular significance.[71]

On the other hand, the adoption of Western technical and professional subjects in technical schools, professional schools, and miscellaneous schools, rapidly gained popularity after 1893, when the law on technical education was reformed. These subjects were adopted successfully.[72]

Academic subjects of the West across the fields of literature, natural science, social science and arts formed most of the curriculum in the universities, and were firmly established in curricula for higher educational institutions.[73] The subjects taught as natural sciences were anthropology, astronomy, botany, mathematics, medical science, physics, and seismology. Economics, law, history, and philosophy, were included in the social science curriculum. These drew heavily upon the traditions in these subjects in Europe and North America, although, particularly after 1880, history and philosophy included content intended to increase a feeling of nationalism.[74]

On the other hand, the adoption of Western ideas in curricula, teaching method, and pedagogies underwent many changes, since ideas were adopted in a technical and artificial way, and often became distorted.[75] The rejection of Western ideas, except those of Germany and the uniform and simultaneous teaching method of America, and the revival of traditional knowledge after 1933 show traditional aspects.[76] The traditional style of cramming with reading and memorisation, which was an extension of the temple school method of instruction, remained alongside the American simultaneous teaching method.

The links between the rejection of Western and American curricula

and changes of government policy is exemplified by the change of school text books.[77] In the confused period from 1868 to 1886 text books translated from those of America, England, and France and text books reviving Confucianism and Japanese ethics were used. During the period of increasing nationalism from 1886 to 1910, text books influenced by the ideas of America and England were gradually replaced by authorised text books of German nationalism. As imperialist influences increased in the period 1910 to 1933, text books were again influenced by American ideas. From 1933 to 1945 text books were influenced by the fascism of Germany and Italy.

In the universities, Western ideas introduced at different times included philosophical theories, Christian doctrine, socialism, proletarianism and fascism. Philosophy and philosophical ideas or theories were adopted willingly and eclectically, but out of curiousity and rather technically. The adoption of such ideas tended to follow fashions, particularly with regards to the countries which were looked to as sources of new ideas. Again, these fashions followed the trends of broader national policy. Ideas from different countries or different advocates continued to be adopted until 1933. Christianity, introduced into Japan before the Restoration, had still been forbidden at the time of the Restoration. The government had to admit it in 1873 after Western countries protested against the Japanese government's suppression of 3,700 Christians by torture in 1870.[78] From then on Christianity was introduced via newly established mission schools.[79] These schools, having adopted both Western subjects and Christian doctrine, flourished and increased. Liberalism,

socialism, and proletarianism were suppressed by the government shortly after their introduction, and consequently were short lived. On the other hand, fascism which was adopted by fascists and the government just before 1933, and continued as government policy until 1945.

The knowledge required by a man possessing a dual nature, who cultivates himself for personal benefit in order to serve the national good, consists of modern and traditional knowledge. The basic modern knowledge for man to be individual and independent and to act on the enacted laws and regulations was obtained through compulsory education, the period of which was gradually extended. Knowledge of Western and North American countries was obtained through reading, shushin or ethics, music, arithmetic, and gymnastics, and corresponds to typically modern knowledge.[80]

The content of shushin went through a series of changes in line with the other changes in curricula outlined above. In the period immediately after 1868, shushin was 'western' ethics, and dealt with the lives and works of prominent men of western society, e.g., A.Lincoln, and B.Franklin.[81] Specific modern knowledge was also adopted from the above countries. Subsequently, shushin came to include more and more traditional knowledge and the basic knowledge of Confucian ethics, which require loyalty to one's superiors, the Emperor, teachers, parents, and older brothers and sisters. The Imperial Rescript on education of 1890 stated below thoroughly explained the traditional basic knowledge. 'Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend

your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.'[82]

Japanese history and geography, shushin, archaeology, brush writing, Japanese and Chinese literatures belonged to this basic traditional knowledge. Shushin had both modern and traditional roles in the early period. The traditional technical knowledge was the lower level of handicrafts and agriculture for boys, and home economics including sewing, cooking, manners for girls.[83] This knowledge was obtained mainly in miscellaneous schools and secondary schools.

The substantial amount of the modern knowledge given in shushin decreased to be gradually replaced by the basic traditional knowledge. On the other hand, specific modern technical knowledge increased with the development of the economy. In the schools and universities, different curricula were deemed to be appropriate for male and female students, not only in the field of traditional knowledge but also for modern knowledge.[84]

4.2.6 Teacher Education and Pedagogy

Japan adopted the institutional pattern and curriculum of the American normal school in 1872, including methods of teaching, educational materials, and pedagogies. Later pedagogies modelled after England, Germany, and Russia were introduced alongside, and eventually replaced, pedagogies from America.[85] These aspects are modern, in the sense that all these pedagogies identify a particular sphere of technical knowledge which is appropriate to teachers in order to fulfill their professional obligations. Also the internal organisation was revised from time to time.

The adoption and establishment of institutions were successful, helped by American scholars such as Dr. David Marry as an advisor in the Education Department, Mr. M. Scott as teacher in the Tokyo Normal School, as well as Japanese officials and students who had studied abroad.[86] Many normal schools were modelled on the Tokyo Normal School.

The pedagogical theories which formed the basis of professional training for teachers went through a series of changes, which broadly paralleled the changes in philosophical outlook in the universities.

Teaching methods associated with pedagogies also underwent many changes in the same way as, and at similar times to, changes in the text books. The cramming teaching method in the schools of the Tokugawa period gave way to the American method with class teaching and simultaneous teaching over the period 1879 to 1885.[87] The method of 'Five Steps', associated with the

Herbartian school of educational theory, was in wide use from 1892 to 1902.[88] Social and experimental pedagogy was introduced from 1913 to 1926.[89] In this period the pedagogical theories of Kerchensteiner, Dewey, Ellen Key, Montessori, Rousseau, Helen Parkhurst, William Heard Kilpatrick, and Carleton Washburne were prominent. Parkhurst, Kilpatrick and Washburne stimulated interest in their ideas by visiting Japan.

Proletarian ideas in teaching, adopted from the USSR, were totally suppressed from 1930 onwards.[90] The intuitive method combined with the German idea of provincial education, were introduced by the government to contribute to the financial self recovery of villages. This policy was suppressed when World War II broke out, then revived soon after, in modified form.[91] The modifications introduced involved making the method more responsive to national, rather than personal needs. These aspects are identifiable as traditional in terms of the government's gradual move away from theories which stressed liberalism and personal devopment, and towards theories which placed greater emphasis on collective, and particularly national, development.

Teachers were expected to transmit an ideal model of man and to contribute to the implementation of the government policies through uniform text books, curricula, and teaching guides.[92]

5 Society

The ideal society from the Meiji Restoration until 1945 consisted of both modern and traditional features. The modern features are seen in enacted laws and rules which provided for the foundation

of institutions, although many of the laws covered detailed and concrete situations rather than general abstract principles, and certain laws were traditional. In addition, the dissemination of knowledge of leisure activities and modes of living was seen as an indirect way of creating the modern society. The traditional features are found in the autocratic authority exercised in personal relations, even inside modern bureaucratic organisations, and the implications the exercise of such authority had for the nature of man in his human relations and general behaviour.

In spite of the modern features found in the society, society in practice appeared to be traditional on the whole, and under traditional authority. Features of the traditional society in the period of the Tokugawa are summarised below in order to illustrate the nature of man and the basic knowledge prevalent in the pre-Meiji period.

5.1 Pre-Meiji

The society of the Tokugawa was based on the customary rules of Japanese society, and the Tokugawa's personal prerogatives. Man's individual human rights were neglected or restricted by the traditional authority, the Tokugawa. Society was unequal and most members of society has only limited individualism, and liberty in a wide range of activities. The individual was constrained by traditional rules with regards to marriage and divorce, ownership and inheritance of private property, selection of occupation and domicile, holding of the family name, the mode of diet and attire, travel at home and abroad, entertainment by music, plays,

or art, and human relationships.[93] In the case of human relationships, detailed traditional rules set out the hierarchy of relations between the chief and retainers, a man and women, older people and younger people, and between members of a family, specifying the degree of deference each member of the hierarchy was entitled to, due to their position, and stipulating appropriate modes of behaviour and speech.

The people belonged to the traditional family, owing allegiance to their relatives, the community, their masters in their occupation, their feudal lord, and the Tokugawa. Traditional authority was exercised by the Tokugawa, and retainers were subjected to his authority. Retainers owed unlimited loyalty to customary rules and to the Tokugawa's personal rules. Naturally, knowledge necessary in this traditional society was this basic traditional knowledge. The specialised technical knowledge for the Tokugawa, feudal lords, and their direct retainers included military skills, ethics, the traditional academic knowledge, and the traditional music and arts.[94] What other members of society needed depended on their occupation, whether that was in agriculture, fishery, commerce, handicraft, carpentry or the fire service.[95]

5.2 Post-Meiji

Laws and ordinances enacted in the light of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles, were concerned with establishing the legal framework for the ideal society. Prominent among these were ordinances abolishing feudalistic restrictions. The major social reforms were set out in the government's decrees and the Code of

Justice of 1870, the Education Law of 1872, the Meiji Constitution of 1889, the Imperial Rescript of 1890, and the Law Order and the Civil Law of 1898.[96] The combination of traditional and modern ideas in these laws and ordinances can be seen from the fact that, although they stipulated certain rights and duties of man within the limitation of the laws, considerable latitude was given to the Emperor in terms of personal prerogatives, and man's civil life was carefully regulated by law.[97] The areas in which laws placed precise restriction on the way in which society could be conducted included, marriage and divorce, man's position in the family, man's relationship to relatives, the status of men and women or husbands and wives, the ownership and inheritance of private property, occupation, domicile, and social status.[98] The laws and ordinances introduced modern knowledge, which promoted 'civilization and enlightenment'. On the other hand, they gradually revived Confucianism and Shintoism and infused the spirit of nationalism, imperialism, and later fascism, of which the central ideas can be considered to be traditional knowledge and traditional unlimited personal loyalty.[99]

As a consequence of the above, man's mode of life in such areas as house style, diet, attire, entertaining pattern, and leisure activities changed in accordance with changes in the political and economic policies of government. In the confused society produced by combining the traditional and the modern, new social problems emerged.[100]

5.2.1 Laws and Ordinances

Man's civil life was fundamentally prescribed by enacted laws and customary laws. These customary laws were given special legal status: 'Customary laws, which do not go against public orders and virtuous public morals, have the same effect as laws on those provided in law ordinances and those not prescribed in law ordinances' (Article 2, Law Order of 1898).[101] The civil law prescribed the norms of kinship and succession. The Meiji Constitution stipulated man's rights and duties, and the Imperial Rescript related public orders and virtuous public morals to customary laws. In practice, enacted laws and customary laws not stated in law ordinances, and existing traditional rules controlled man's civil life.[102] Enacted laws are generally seen to be modern, in that they delimit in terms of general principles the spheres within which a citizen may exercise his individuality. The very strong links between legal norms and existing tradition rules which covered all aspects of social life means that this separation of spheres of action was not a funtion of legislation in Japan. In this way, and by including many traditional relationships in the legal codes, legislation for social relationships in this period cannot be described as entirely modern. This suggests that laws and ordinances tended to be traditional both in theory and practice. Man's mode of life, was influenced, as a whole, by the above laws. As a result the mode of life changed with political and economic changes.

Many feudalistic restrictions were abolished by the Kinship and the Penalty laws in the Criminal Code of 1870, which were based on the Ancient Ordinance called Ritsuryo.[103] More were abolished

by government decrees before the enactment of the Meiji Constitution and Civil Law. Most of the abolished restrictions were limited to customary rules which were widely held to be unbearable. Those restrictions which were abolitished concerning man's civil life included discrimination according to social class,[104] the slave trade, the business of women engaged in entertainment, and various restrictions in the fields of apprenticeship, buying and selling land, holding land, and cultivating farm produce. The abolition of feudalistic restrictions can be identified as modern, although the fundamental system of traditional family, based on the Ancient Ordinance, was adopted in the sections covering kinship in the Criminal Code of 1870, and the Civil Law of 1898.[105]

Concerning the nature of man, the Education Law of 1872 stated the idea of equality among four classes of commoners in education.[106] However, both the Education Law and the Civil Law of 1898 (Volumes 4 and 5, the Family Kinship and Succession) indicated inequality of sex and hierarchical discrimination in the family. Hence, such laws controlled and restricted individual action and social behaviour. As a consequence, the family kinship of the Civil Law was considered to be the norm of the civil life of the people, whereas the Imperial Rescript was seen to be the norm on morality.[107]

5.2.2 Marriage

The practice of marriage is explained with reference to the Civil Law of 1898. The marriageable age was 17 for male and 15 for female (Article 765) but in practice the age tended to be lower, in which case the family registration was postponed until the couple reached the legal marriageable age.[108] The consent of parents or parent was required by a male under 30 and a female under 25 in order to marry. (Article 772 and 750).

To meet the traditional aspect of the marriage law, marriages were generally arranged through the process of omiai. Omiai was an interview arranged by the parents of the couple, their relatives or people related to the father through work or on the basis of the similar family background, business relations or financial support.[109] The ideas of class discrimination, the neglect of individuality, and the group control in maintaining the family system identified in concept of omiai, show traditional aspects. Cases of not abiding by the marriage laws or customary rules, brought various forms of tragedy, such as the couple removing their name from the family registration (Article 750), the elopement, or committing double suicide, the last of which is examined later.[110] Any of these processes was regarded a disgrace to their families. On the other hand, antagonism between the two families was common. Cases of not abiding by the marriage laws and customary rules indicated modern aspects, since following them meant a neglect of human individuality.

The forms of marriage by love, church wedding or international marriage, and re-marriage of women in terms of openness and

exercising human rights, imply a modern attitude. The personal value of remarried women was regarded lower than men's regardless of the reasons.[111]

5.2.3 Divorce

Application for divorce by trial was possible for both husband and wife, which again is modern. However, the lawful discrimination between husband and wife, for the purposes of the suit, prescribed in the law is obviously traditional.[112] The concept of a 'wife's inability' incoporated the husband's predominance over his wife, and she needed the husband's permission in order to proceed with her divorce suit. Among admissible reasons for suit, the following reasons were cited as equal: 'When the wife committed adultery', and 'When the husband was sentenced for illicit intercourse'.[113]

In practice, the husband being unlawfully divorced from his wife was hardly seen. Women rarely divorced husbands because the idea was regarded as immoral.[114] Women were often divorced by their husbands in accordance with customary laws. In such cases the case could be established unilaterally by the husband's parents, and supported by the husband. Unilateral reasons included the inability of a wife to bear a child, especially a boy, or her work and personality did not satisfy her mother-in-law or her husband. Married women were expected to remain in the marriage under all circumstances, for divorce had disadvantages financially and socially. Women's position with regards to divorce in these cases is identified to be significantly traditional. The number of such divorce cases decreased, but

slowly, towards the 1940's. At least, this tendency indicates modern trends.

5.2.4 Family System and Human Relations

The family system and human relations are prescribed in Chapters 4 and 5 of the Civil Law of 1898, which are entitled Kinship and Succession respectively.[115] In addition, human relations are exercised in accordance with the transmitted customary rules which cover thinking and behaviour, and which are derived from ideas of feudalism and Confucianism, which were not prescribed in the laws. Features of the family system and human relations in laws and practice can be seen to be, on the whole, traditional.

The order of precedence in the kinship relationships (Article 725) favoured the husband's family as being the important blood relations (Article 726). The rights and duties of the head of family included the duty of supporting his family (Article 746), the right to give or withhold his consent to the marriage of the family members or to an adoption (Article 750), to decide the family domicile (Article 749), and the property of the family which was not clearly the property of any single member of the family was presumed to belong to the head of the family. The definition of family was stated as "persons who are related to the head of family by birth and reside in the house, and a spouse" (Article 732) clearly implies an extended family organisation, the wife being placed the last in the order of the family, and the house not being based on the unit of a couple.[116] The heir (or heiress), who was the eldest legitimate son (or daughter), (Article 790) was not permitted to leave the house of

the head of family (Article 744). The law determined the order of precedence among children, sons being higher than daughters, legitimate higher than illegitimate, and the older higher than the younger. (Article 790) The right of succession passed to grandchildren in the absence of surviving children, and to a wife in the absence of grandchildren (Article 996). A women had the right to hold property, which is a modern aspect, but her property was under her husband's control (Article 861).

It was the right of the head of the family to control his kin. By his succession, the heir maintained the continuation of 'the house'. This system determined the discriminatory order of human relationships, and implied a traditional moral code. The ideas of 'the house' and 'the moral' came to be recognised as the organising principles of society. 'The house' became the unit of the state structure and 'the moral' became the basis for national morality. Thus, the former served the stable order of the state and the latter the completeness of national morality.[117]

5.2.5 Mode of Life

The abolition of customary feudalistic restrictions on the one hand, and the adoption of Western and North American knowledge and institutions permitted by law on the other, brought about a significant change in man's mode of life. However, some changes were limited to certain people, such as officials who were engaged in diplomacy, business with foreigners, and the inhabitants of big cities. Changes in man's mode of life were part of the phenomenon of Westernisation, especially in the early period of the Meiji. The Western style of housing, attire, diet,

and other items of Western culture, including hotels, restaurants and patterns of entertainment, films, music, sports and magazines, gradually came to be customary parts of people's mode of life. In contrast, Western customs of thinking and behaviour could not be adopted by the people as a whole.

Westernisation of the mode of life was significant in the early period after the Restoration, as the government encouraged the modernisation of the country as a matter of state policy,[118] and revised treaties with Western countries.[119] The government's intentions can be seen in the enacted laws and rules, such as the abolition of the guard station at a feudal boundary (1868), the abolition of the practice of carrying swords and the permission to cut off the topknot (1871), the adoption of Western suits for the formal officials attire of (1872), and permission to commoners to ride horses (1871).[120] Reasons for Westernisation included the necessity for contacting foreign people in relation to political and economical activities.

The Westernisation of the mode of life itself cannot be defined as modern. It was the consequence of modernisation in the fields of politics, economics, and education, which produced an indirect effect of Westernisation in the way of life. Westernisation can be seen as being modern in terms of man's openness and individuality.[121] Some phenomena of Westernisation are modern in terms of seeking modern knowledge, particularly travel abroad.

The Western style house did not completely replace the Japanese style house, and its use was still limited to certain people. Smaller houses were adopted by nuclear families. The modern

aspects can be identified in the spread of the concept of the nuclear family of which members tended to be seen as being individual and equal. The traditional family system was gradually changing to the modern family system. Getting used to Western housing, diet, attire and other items of Western culture had an indirect influence on man's capacity to travel abroad on official or private business, in that he could be less dependent on other people. Entertaining 'outsiders' at home in either a semi-western or Japanese style house, was limited. The enjoyment of Western films, music, sports, and magazines served for personal satisfaction according to the individual's choice. The abolition of the sekisho, the guard station at the barrier between feudal domains, allowed people to travel anywhere within the country. Various treaties and regulations concerning entry to and exit from the country enabled people to travel abroad. These laws, treaties, and regulations, which are modern features, had direct influence on the freedom of people to travel at home or abroad.

On the other hand, the Japanese style of housing, diet, and attire, the Japanese inn, restaurant, music, theatre and sports continued to be enjoyed by the majority of Japanese people. As they increased individual choice and fulfillment, these aspects of Japanese life cannot, by any means, be considered purely traditional in accordance with the definition of the ideal models.[122]

5.2.6 Suicides

The identification of modern or traditional aspects of suicide is not made in terms of committing suicide itself but by regarding suicide as a social phenomenon in the process of modernisation and in the modern society, as defined by Emile Durkheim.[123] Yet, causes of committing suicide from 1868 to 1945 can be identified as either traditional or modern using the models constructed from the ideas of Max Weber.[124] Suicides which resulted from a man's orientation towards the group, or towards his superior, or resulted from his feeling of personal responsibility for his official duties, can be regarded as traditional. Suicides which resulted from a man's individualism, especially from his personal "anomy" in an unstable social milieu, can be regarded as modern. Some indication of this can be drawn from the age of the suicide, the reasons for suicide or the method of suicide. For example, cases of suicide due to problems in politics and business are identified as having both traditional and modern features. Taking over personal responsibility either for one's own or anothers' faults is directly related to traditional aspects of society, that is the obligation to the person or to the group. On the other hand, lack of bureaucratic knowledge or the result of bureaucratic complication in human relationships may have driven the suicide to psychological instability,[125] which aspect is the consequence of in the process of modernising society.[126] The latter cause of suicide is seen in European countries.[127]

Suicide of an entire family was a response to deep indebtedness and a hopeless economic situation. The mode of suicide is peculiar to Japan and is traditional in that the head of the

family made the decision to commit suicide regardless of the will of the members of his family. Lack of the modern institutions for social welfare might lead one to the conclusion that it was due to the traditional society.[128]

The cases of students committing suicide as a result of failing an entrance examination were common. However, the direct cause of suicide was usually the disgrace to parents and the family name, which is traditional. In contrast, as modern knowledge increased, with the development of the modern educational institutions, the competition in examinations became increasingly severe. When the cause of suicide was a feeling of fatalism, the cause can be identified to be a modern phenomenon.[129]

A double suicide by lovers often took place when they did not receive their parents' consent for their marriage.[130] This case was peculiar to Japanese tradition, but, since the action derived from the individual revolt of the lovers against the nature of traditional man and society as expressed in the tradition of marriage, it may be taken to indicate some modern aspects. The causes of suicide in this case are identified as a mixture of traditional and modern.

Suicides show the complex mixture of traditional and modern features seen in the rest of Japanese society. Modernisation and associated personal uncertainty produced increases in the number of suicides, while the precise nature of the suïcide generally fitted a tradsitional pattern.

6 Summary

The examination of practice in politics, economics, education, and society in historical perspective shows both traditional and modern features, which illustrates that the ideal Japanese society, man, and knowledge were of a dual nature. On the whole, modern ideas and institutions were enthusiastically adopted in the initial stage of the Meiji Restoration, for Japan to build a new, modern country. Traditional features and ideas had to be concealed in order to establish modern institutions in the areas of politics, economics, education, and human relations. Once the modern institutions were established, traditional ideas re-emerged.

This resulted in a modern institutional framework within which the traditional authority (personal authority) of the Emperor and superior officials in administration was exercised. That is, the traditional nature of man, whose obedience is to unlimited authority, was found operating inside formally modern institutions.

Modern knowledge was advocated for both modern and traditional reasons. Modern ideas and technical knowledge were disseminated in order to establish political institutions of administration, economic organisations, educational organisations and institutions, and some social institutions. This knowledge was adopted from advanced Western and North American countries by inviting foreign specialists to Japan and sending Japanese people overseas. In this stage, Japan was heavily dependent on foreign countries, in spite of the fact that in the early period the

number of foreigners invited to Japan was roughly equal to the number of Japanese people studying abroad. In both cases the aim was to transfer western knowledge to Japan, and foreigners going to Japan were expected to assist the transfer of ideas to Japan, rather than learn anything of value to take away to other countries.

On the whole, institutions of politics and economics, and to a lesser extent education and society, were modernized in their framework, and developed. In particular, economic growth and the expansion of education were vigorous. Modern education certainly contributed to this success. But later modern ideas tended to be rejected, as did certain features of modern man. The everyday life style became fairly Westernised but this did not bring about the development of the modern state, but of an Imperial state. Japan's failure in foreign policy and domestic policy after 1930 was due to the re-introduction of nationalism and imperialism, and in addition the adoption of fascism in politics and in educational curricula.

Japan depended on advanced Western and North American countries for establishing modern institutions, but she eventually became independent in reforming laws and regulations, and the further development of institutions and activities. In this process she re-introduced traditional ideas of man and knowledge into her modern institutions. Where Japan was successful, the key to her success until 1930 was her flexible practice of adapting or rejecting foreign ideas to suit herself along with the re-introduction of certain traditional features. However, this in turn produced problems where modern institutions were introduced

in some areas and not in others.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY PRACTICE SINCE 1945

Identification of Traditional and Modern Features

1 Introduction

This chapter follows a similar pattern to that of Chapter IV, but covers the period from 1945 onwards. It was suggested in Chapter III that one might expect to find a reduction of traditional features in practice after 1945, as the new Japanese Constitution prescribed ideas and views based on modern notions of human rights and individuality. In fact, in spite of the introduction of the new Constitution, traditional 'mental states' were retained by Japanese people to a very large extent. These can be seen most prominently in the areas where they were noticeable in the period 1868 to 1945, i.e. marriage, divorce, family life. Although society was not as traditional after 1945 as it had been before, there is a clear problem in the retention of traditional 'mental states' in spite of the introduction of modern laws.

The authors of the Japanese Constitution attempted to include modern concepts in the Constitution on the advice of the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Allied Powers.[1] This advice given in the form of directives during the occupation. The mode of authority and the exercise of authority changed through three stages; between 1945-1959, 1951-1956, and after 1956. During the first period under Allied occupation the form of administration was bureaucratic. Although the organisation of the Allied Powers was modern and bureaucratic, they exercised authority because of their position at the end of the Second

World War, and did not argue their case in terms of abstract principles. This is not to say that they did not have abstract principles, particularly principles of democratisation and dec entralisation. These principles were advanced by a traditional authority, however, and this may have affected the way Japanese people responded to the institutional forms. Authority was exercised by the Prime Minister with members of the Diet and bureaucrats in administrative offices, all of whom were indirectly under the control of the GHQ. This mode and exercise of the authority is dependent, and thus traditional.

In the second period, the mode and exercise of authority became independent at home, which aspect is modern.[2] However, the exercise of authority was limited, as diplomatic relations could only be restored with Western democratic countries, which can be considered to be a stage of transition to a state of satisfactory modern independence. From 1956, exercise of authority overseas became completely independent, with the restoration of diplomatic relations with socialist countries, which enabled Japan to join the United Nations. In this period full modern independence was achieved.

Although modern institutions were introduced in the post 1945 period, under a degree of compulsion during the occupation as they had been in the Meiji period, a number of traditional 'mental states' were retained. One traditional feature of legislation in the period after 1945 is highlighted by the use of Weberian models. Weber argues that in a modern bureaucracy decisions are made in the light of abstract principles which are embodied in laws and regulations.[3] Japanese legislation,

including the Civil Code of 1947 which covers family relations, are rarely phrased in terms of abstract principles, however, and generally prescribe action in terms of concrete rules and situations. Thus the style of legislation, quite apart from its specific content, is frequently traditional, and gives scope for interpretting situations in traditional terms and for the exercise of arbitrary and traditional authority. The retention of traditional 'mental states' in interpretting the new laws can be traced to the central traditional notion that the individual is dependent on the group as a whole.

Among Japanese people prejudice against "outsiders" can be seen in the way human relationships are conducted within both modern institutions and the family. When international contacts with foreigners increased, both at home and abroad, the retention of traditional 'mental states' conflicted seriously with modern ideas. In the first instance this is noticeable at the national level in terms of policy. It is also noticeable, however, at the individual level. In this context, many of the difficulties which Japan faces in international society abroad can be seen not only as problems for international experts, but as problems for Japanese people as individuals in adjusting to international society.

The analysis of practice since 1945 reveals the persistence of traditional 'mental states' in spite of the provisions of modern laws. The new laws have introduced modern ideas. However, the modern ideas were not effectively disseminated through education. The main reason for this is the continued operation of personal

and arbitrary authority, and the dependent nature of individuals, in the educational administration and educational institutions. The uniform education system served the nation for the purposes of economic development in the same way as it had under the Meiji, and the idea of education for individual fulfillment was ignored.

2 Politics

The reformed political organisation based on the Constitution shows modern features of bureaucratic administration, with bureaucratic officials, modern modes of recruitment, and the modern form of remuneration.[4] At home, political organisations included the Diet, the Cabinet with ministries, courts of justice, and local autonomous government organisations. Overseas, Japanese embassies, legations, and official residences abroad, representing the above organisations in Japan, followed the same framework of organisation.

The Diet consists of members of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, both of whom are chosen by public election.[5] The cabinet consists of the Prime Minister with the National Personnel Authority and the Prime Minister's Office and eleven ministers, one from each ministry.[6] The courts of justice include the Supreme Court and local courts.[7] The Prime Minister is designated by the political party with the majority of representatives. Ministers are nominated by the Prime Minister. Higher bureaucrats and administrative officials are appointed on the basis of the official examinations.[8]

The Communist Party, which had been prohibited in the pre -1945 period came to be included among the political parties which took part in elections, and new parties such as Komeito were formed.[9] The general election of 1946 was held under the terms of the Election Law and the Law of Suffrage, both passed in 1945. The Law of Suffrage applied to both men and women on equal terms with people over 20 years old having the right to vote, and these over 25 years old having electoral eligibility. The election of 1946 resulted in 39 women being elected to the Diet.[10] In local administration, modern aspects are shown by the adoption of the system of local autonomy, the election of the governors of prefectures, the decentralised police system with a dual system of municipal and local police, and the appointment of officials who were public servants.

The number of diplomats has increased with the increase of embassies and consulates, and the development of political activities all over the world.[11] This indicates a modern aspect in terms of the openness of contact of Japan with other countries. In addition to regular staff diplomats of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the number of representatives travelling abroad from other ministries and from government and non - government organisations has greatly increased. In political activity overseas, Japanese people work as officials in international organisations.

In policies at home and overseas, both modern and trad itional aspects can be seen. On the whole, substantial modernity was found in the policies pursued at home between 1945 and 1951 in terms of the reform of laws and political organisations. The

traditional aspects increased gradually after 1951 in the form of a reactionary tendency.[12] This reformed minor laws which had previously been passed with the intention of reducing autocratic control. As a consequence, the modern features can be identified in various movements against the increase of autocratic control.

The ideas of the Great Reforms of the SCAP (the Supreme Commander for Allied Power), which were to democratise the society in general, are obviously modern in spite of their imposition under the occupational authority of the Allied Power. The Great Five Reforms were 1) to give women suffrage and to emancipate women, 2) to give people the right to organise, 3) to abolish autocratic politics, 4) to democratise the educational system, and 5) to democratise the economic structure.[13] Autocratic authority in the "Great Imperial Country of Japan" was disorganised by reforms of the legislature, the judiciary, and the administration. In addition Shintoism, was excluded from all fields of public life, where it had been seen as an influence supporting autocratic authority. The army was dissolved, war criminals punished, armament factories banned and the oppressive institutions in various fields abolished. This was brought about by the enactment of various laws, such as the Constitution of Japan, the National Public Service Law, the Reformed Civil Law, the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law, and three labour laws, and the Law for the Maintenance of Public Peace.[14] The Emperor, who had had absolute power with personal prerogatives, declared his humanity, and became a symbol of the country.

While modern political organisations continued to operate, reforms of minor laws restricting democracy emerged in a number of fields later. These phenomena were called a reactionary tendency.[15] It was interpreted as a tendency to return to the old days, that is the pre war tradition of autocratic bureaucracy. The reactionary tendency was seen in the Subversive Activities Law of 1952, the change from a dual system of the municipal and the national police to a single system of the national police, and education laws concerning political neutrality.[16] This tendency can be seen as traditional.

Against the above government restrictions, various peace movements and the movement for protecting democracy supported by the National Federation of Students, and the Self-Government Association flourished.[17] These movements show that modern views were held by a large number of people in terms of the exercise of individual rights as prescribed in the Constitution.

Within the modern bureaucratic organisations, some indications can be found that personal, traditional authority continued to be important. Cases where the government forced decisions through the Diet were obvious examples of the autocratic exercise of authority.[18] Bribery cases involving the election of officials with responsibilities for taxes, the establishment of new government offices, rural development, or the purchase of equipment can be identified as the personal appropriation of authority, or the mixing of private and public matters. These cases show clear features of the traditional model.[19] In the Diet, the dispute over the issue of rearmament indicated the

traditional attitudes in favour of it and the modern attitudes opposing it.

In the field of foreign policy, modern features can be seen in the developing relations of Japan with other countires. An increasing number of international treaties was signed, especially after 1951. These relationships were modern to the extent that the treaties were based on abstract principles and negotiated between equal sovreign states on the basis of a number of imposed restrictions which prevented some treaties from having these properties until 1956.

Japan concluded peace treaties with forty-eight Allied democratic countries in San Francisco in 1951. Diplomatic relations with socialist countries were restored by peace treaties or other forms of treaty by 1956,[20] and Japan joined the UN and other international, regional and governmental organisations.[21] Her representatives participated in conferences in these organisations, and she established political residences abroad.

Japan had to make various forms of agreements with Korea and China before signing peace treaties. This process shows a movement toward a satisfactory degree of modernity. In the case of the USSR, a peace treaty was not possible, but the signing of the Japan-Soviet Fishery Agreement and the Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration in 1956 enabled Japan to join the UN.[22]

The least modern aspect of Japan's foreign policy can be seen in the area of cooperation regarding receiving refugees, although in

1979 Japan signed the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which was adopted in 1954 by twenty six countries.[23]

2.1 Human Relations

The traditional aspects of practice found in political administrative offices and policies can be considered to have emerged from concrete laws and regulations.[24] Rules and written norms are not constructed on the basis of abstract principles, and concrete and specific rules can be enforced in a way which depends on an autocratic exercise of bureaucratic authority and an application of the concept of traditional family relations in administrative offices.[25] The consequence of this is found in a reaction to moderni sation, which tended to control people through changing minor laws and rules, and which reinforced traditional relationships among beaureaucrats.[26] Autocratic control and traditional human relationships can be found in orgnisations in all fields, especially economic organisations. The traditional knowledge prescribed in laws and persistent in society, helped the autocratic exercise of authority, and the continuation of traditional human relations in politics, business, and education. The exercise of autocratic control and the traditional human relations were further facilitated by policies at home and overseas, which increased uncertainty and insecurity by rapid economic development.[27] These policies themselves are considered to be modern in terms of openness.[28]

In this context, autocratic control and traditional human relations, especially in economic organisations, served the end of rapid economic development.[29] People in general went along

with autocratic control and the traditional human relationships in the name of the economic development, which would eventually raise the living standards of individuals. At the same time, attempts made by some individuals to leave the system can be seen as modern, in terms of promoting individual developent. To go against the system, or to escape from it, and not to obey the person but stress instead the rules of office, meant to drop out from the mainstream of society.[30] Eventually such action might place one in financial difficulty, or in an uneasy mental state.[31] In economic terms, an important feature of the traditional human relationships was the lifetime employment system.

3 Economy

In Japan's economy features of both modern and traditional models suggested by the ideal model after 1945, can be identified in practice. Under bureaucratic authority, which is exercised within limits set by enacted laws and rules, the reformed bureaucratic economic organisations showed substantial modern features in structure. In this they followed the structures established in politics. In contrast, business conduct and the economic relations at home and overseas indicated a great number of traditional features, being controlled by the governments economic policy and business rules in organisations. These rules were accompanied by the traditional concept of family relations, which was applied to Japanese businessmen as well as outsiders and foreigners.

With these modern and traditional features, and in particular

with modern technical knowledge, Japan's economy at home and overseas developed rapidly from 1956 onwards. The increased number of economic organisations with growing investment, increasing trade at home and overseas, the stimulation given to business by joining international organisations abroad, and the increased number of officials and official activity in these organisations, showed modern aspects in terms of an open economic policy.[32] The increased number of women in industry due to an enlargement of the labour force and the increased number of Western hotels and of both Japanese and foreign tourists, can be identified as modern in terms of economic development.[33]

Economic policy changed, in accordance with the way in which authority was exercised. This followed similar patterns to changes which occured in the political field. Policy imposed by the forces of occupation between 1945 and 1951, gave way to the semi-dependent policy from 1951 to 1956, and finally to an independent open policy after 1956.

In the first period, modern aspects were seen in the policy directives of GHQ which were 'to democratise the economic structure', and to promote 'the right of organisation'.[34] These were accompanied with the GHQ's economic plan, conducted by J.M.Dodge between 1948 and 1949 and the Reform of the tax system conducted by C.S.Shoup in 1949.[35] These policies were implemented by the GHQ's orders and laws; the Order of dissolving zaibatsu,[36] or giant family trusts (1945), the Elimination Law preventing the excessive concentration of economic power,[37] the Antimonopoly Law preventing monopolies and mergers (1947), the Labour Union Law (1945), the Labour Relation Mediation Law (1946), the Labour

Standard Law (1947), and the Order to Reform Farm land (1945). The zaibatsu not only controlled the major industies through their ties with the government and the military, but also had a voice in political matters. In order to reduce the influence of the zaibatsu, the government bought shares in them, and then redistributed the shares to bring about the dissolution of the zaibatuysu. The reform of farm land was to abolish the feudalistic relation between the land owner and the tenant farmer. The order was put into practice from 1946; the first reform, and the second reform of 1947, remained in force until 1959.[38]

Traditional aspects, however, can be identified in the policies themselves, or in the process of their implementation. The Elimination Law preventing excessive concentration of economic power was reformed from 1949. In this second reform its terms were loosened , which resulted in the emergence of combined enterprises. In the reform of the farm land, the forests and fields were not released, which left land owners's with considerable power.

In accordance with the GHQ's orders on economics, and later on the basis of enacted economic laws and the Constitution, the modern form of economic organisation was established in all sectors in Japan. The order of priority in these reforms was to stimulate economic development for the people at first and, following that, for the nation. Again, in spite of the emphasis on this order, the economic policies for the people and the nation were implemented simultaneously, since they correlated up

to a certain point.[39]

Overseas, the establishment of branches of economic organisations, including corporation with foreign firms on devices, brands or capital, was important from 1952 onwards. These were promoted by the Law for the Rationalisation and Promotion of Enterprise, enacted in 1952 under the government economic policy, and various bilateral and multilateral international laws and agreements.[40] These orgnisations were modern in their framework, business operation and human relationships within the organisation. In this they were more modern than economic orgnisations in Japan. Yet, the traditional features found in the business operations and human relations were still basic elements.[41]

The establishment of economic organisations abroad was closely linked to the development of similar organisations in Japan. They developed first in the manufacturing sector , and were followed by organisations in the fields of food and textiles, machinery and fertilisers between 1945 and 1951. From 1950 to around 1953, the emphasis was on heavy industry; steel, chemical products, and mining. This emphasis was related to the Korean war. Parellel with the above, from 1951 onwards, plant and equipment for basic industry, e.g. electric power, ship building, iron, and steel, were promoted by state capital investment.[42] With the measure of financial and monetary control provided for under this policy, Japan's economy continued its expansion from the mid 1950's onwards.[43] It is exemplified by economic booms centred on equipment investment, such as the booms called Jinmu (1955-1957) and Iwato (1959-1961).[44] With the law for Rationalisation and

Promotion of Enterprise of 1952 and the 'Income-Doubling Plan' of 1960,[45] the establishment and expansion of branch organisations and new economic organisations abroad for import and export and investment purposes as further facilitated. Economic organisations abroad established in this period included enterprises marketing electrical and non-electrical machinery, transport equipment,[46] and the provision of services in distribution, banking, insurance, and real estate.[47]

The basis for establishing economic organisations abroad and for their expansion was already completed by 1960, owing to the introduction of new technology from the West and North America, the licensed use of foreign know-how in management, the growth of production of industrial raw materials,[48] an adequate labour force including women, and inreased consumer demand. Thus, over - production was to supply an export drive, which resulted in an expansion of overseas trade.

As far as the economy abroad was concerned, the policy was one of 'internationalisation of the economy', aimed at joining the world market from about 1960, and participation in the international monetary system from the early 1970s. Concerning the former, besides joining the IMF and the World Bank, measures for joining the world market included the liberalisation of capital transfer to countries which were members of the IMF and OECD, and the holding of the Japan-USA Joint Committee for Trade and Economy every year from 1961 onwards. This policy facilitated the sale of goods,[49] accumulated under the operation of the 'Priority Production Systems,' together with the 'Double Income Plan'.[50]

In connection with the international system of currency, Japan followed other countries in changes of this system, which changed dramatically with the USA's announcement of the suspension of the dollar's convertibility into gold in 1971, and the switching to a floating exchange rate system by revaluing the yen upward in 1973.[51]

Up to 1973 the economic system of Japan showed many modern features, in terms of style of organisation and operation, as well as development and growth. After 1973, with the rise of oil prices and a world economic recession, many traditional features which had been latent in the Japanese system became more apparent. From 1973, the economic policy aimed at 'thrift and saving' to 1976, and a 'slower but stable growth of the national economy' after 1976. The former was to cope with the recession and inflation, not only at home but also worldwide. Inflation was brought about by the world's major countries having switched to the system of floating currency rates and the oil crisis in late 1973. The policy of 'thrift and saving' reduced consumption, raised savings, and produced full employment until 1976, and brought inflation almost under control by 1977.[52]

Traditional aspects are found in the way government exercised the economic policy itself, and in its effect on economic organisations, and economic or social life in general. These effects may be a direct result of the policy itself, or an effect of the economic development which the policy brought about.

The way in which the government implemented the laws described in

the previous section served to reinforce some traditional features of the economy. The Law Restricting the Concentration of Economic Power was only enforced in extreme cases,[53] and governmental assistance to specific areas of industry under the 'Priority Production System' and 'Double Income Plan' actually served to increase the economic power of certain industrial organisations, resulting in employees in some sectors of industry being at an advantage, vis a vis employees in other sectors. In short, the way in which the laws were enforced is reminiscent of a traditional system where economic advantage was distributed by a central patriarchal authority.

These aspects are identified as the traditional not only in terms of unfairness, but also to the extent that they were not accompanied by measures to meet their effects. For instance, the development of plant and equipment investment in the heavy chemical industry led to a relative lack of development in the fields of agriculture, small business, housing and roads. Environmental pollution, the destruction of nature, the depopulation of rural areas and urbanisation were all increased by the policies of the government.[54]

The restriction of the production of rice gave farmers many problems, and forced many farmers to engage in other occupations.[55] This produced a situation where young men or women moved to cities, thus resulting in depopulation of the rural areas. The above phenomenon also derived from other elements of modernisation, such as the effect of the modern family structure, the effect of the economic development and its growth, and in

particular, the growing need for an urban labour force at a time of economic development.

The direct effect of the government's economic policy was to bring big combined enterprises into the heavy chemical industry and banking and commerce business. Many smaller businesses were bankrupted as a result. Economic development brought various problems in relation to changes of the environment at large. Examples are seen in a rise of income, the introduction of mass production, changes in the mode of consumption, and a rise of consumer prices relative to wages.[56]

3.1 Human Relations

Problems found in economic relations and human relations both at home and overseas are considered to stem from traditional aspects of man, society, and knowledge.[57] Certain features of the traditional man, society, and knowledge interacted with those of the modern model. The outcome is a mixture of modern and traditional features, from which either of these modern or traditional features may appear unevenly and spontaneously. The traditional aspect of human relationships are correlated with those of economic relations. The outline of the traditional aspect in human relationships has already been mentioned under the heading of politics in this chapter. The traditional family system incorporated certain traditional features of man, society, and knowledge.[58] This concept of the traditional family system has then been directly applied to economic organisations.

In the modern framework of economic organisation, a big combined

enterprise may be 'sponsored' by the government, a subsidiary company by the parent company, the senior director by the director, and the business man by this senior director. These vertical relationships of patronage often extend to the man's personal life and his family. These relationships are identified as the traditional.[59] The company is 'restricted' and 'closed' to outside companies in terms of business conduct as expreseed in human terms. The company formulates its own rules of behaviour, traditional knowledge, which is expressed in the motto of the company. The concept of 'a double sphere' is exercised with this traditional knowledge, that is with an ethical common sense, of justice, or utilitarian-expediency. Modern technical knowledge is applied in general to design or ideas and business planning or procedures.

A business man, accordingly exercises 'a double sphere' of knowledge between the company rules and his senior business management. Thus he has in practice little or no 'individuality' but serves his senior officer and the company with 'unlimited loyalty and obligation' in return for the above 'patronage'. Under the 'group orientation', man's acquired modern knowledge is above all re-oriented to fit in to any sphere of business, as are his human relationships.[60]

These traditional human relationships in economic organisations are, in most cases, applied to branch companies overseas, which frequently results in conflict in human relations between a Japanese employee and a foreign employee, or a Japanese employee sent from the home company and one who is employed locally and resident abroad, or a Japanese businessman and a businessman from

a foreign company.[61] In certain cases foreigners adopt the traditional human relationships to a certain degree or the Japanese attempt to make a compromise between the traditional and modern human relations.

These conflicts in terms of human relationships play an important part in business or economic relations between Japanese companies and foreign companies, and in international economic relations. Economic friction is said to be derived from 'the rapid increase in Japan's exports and increasing surplus in its international balance of payment.[62] This friction indicates the outcome of traditional aspects, in terms of applying the traditional rules of utilitarian expediency, an imbalance in international trade, and lack of openness in international trade.

4 Education

The Fundamental Law of Education enacted in the light of the Constitution is the norm for the organisation of administrative institutions and educational institution.

Modern aspects can be identified in the framework of organisations, finance, structure, and curriculum.[63] Traditional aspects are found in certain revised or new laws and regulations, and certain recommendations which tend towards the centralised and autocratic control of educational organisation.[64] The uniformity of structure, in effect led to organisations of a closed and inflexibile nature.[65] In the field of the curriculum, or 'Course of Study'. increased centralisation, autocracy and uniformity are apparent.[66] Principles such as equality have been

applied impersonally, regardless of individual differences, yet without removing inequality with regards to sex or individual ability.[67] In respect of the curriculum, the traditional aspect is most clearly continued in dotoku, moral education.[68] This is based on a view of the nature of man, which is a mixture of the modern and the traditional.[69]

The traditional aspect is also signified by the rejection of, or complaint about, the modernisation embodied in laws or regulations. Educational problems can be identified as related to the persistence of traditional aspects.[70] Memberships of international organisations in eucation e.g. UNESCO, IBE, IEA, CERI, themselves indicate both modern and traditional aspects.[71] Modern aspects are seen, in terms of openness outside Japan, involvement in educational activities, and contributions to technical and financial aid in the field of education in developing countries. On the other hand, traditional aspects are found in the way Japan received foreign educationists or students in terms of equality and facilities.

'Democratisation of education', in the Great Reform instigated by GHQ, set out modern goals in terms of the decentralisation of the educational administration and institutions, and the development of a democratic spirit of equality and individuality in education. The above modern features are prescribed in the Fundamental Law of Education, the School Education Law, the Laws of State and Local Civil Servants, the Special Law of Public Servants in Education, the Law of State Administration and Organisation, and the Law Regarding Organisation and Operation

for Local Administration in Education.[72]

The Fundamental Law of Education stipulated the basic aims and principles of Japanese education, with provisions for equal opportunity in education, compulsory education, co-education, social, political, and religious education, and a system of school administration.[73] The Preamble to the Law states that the realisation of such ideas through education would contribute to the peace of the world and the welfare of humanity by building a democratic state.

Traditional aspects, that is educational ideas enforcing ultra-nationalism and militarism, disappeared with the repeal of the Meiji Constitution, the Imperial Rescript on Education, Educational Acts and Ordinances, and the Teaching Guide. Educational administration became decentralised and independent. Boards of Education with elected members were established at the municipal level. Educational finance was to be collected from educational taxes of the state, prefectures, and municipalities.[74] Each municipality was subsidised by the state via the prefectures. Financial aid for eligible students of upper secondary and higher education began.

The framework of organisation in education followed that of politics, which is modern. The educational structure was modelled on that of America, and includes all levels of education from kindergarten to higher education.[75] It is organised according to the age of children and students, systematically, on the basis of their physical development.[76] The multiple track system was abolished and a 6.3.3. system, with 9 years of free and

compulsory education in co-educational schools was adopted. With this new educational system, a higher education system was also adopted of 2 years junior college, 4 years university including teacher education, and a graduate system.

Curricula of all levels of education include rather broad encyclopaedic subjects for the basic knowledge, and specialised subjects including technology, science, medicine, and law in higher education. The system of standard text books was adopted in 1947. In this connection, militant text books of shushin, ethics, history and geography were abolished. Instead, social study, which was a new subject with new content, was introduced. The use of alphabetical writing for the Japanese language was adopted from the fourth grade in elementary school and English was introduced as a subject from the lower secondary school. The tentative guidance of the "Course of Studies" for elementary and secondary schools was adopted in place of the pre-war "Teaching Study Guide". Instead of a uniform teaching method by infusion and transmission, a teaching method to help individual development and to cultivate democracy and sociability was adopted.[77]

Outside the school system and organisations, and following the recommendation of the US Educational Mission, adult schools, public halls, parent teacher associations, more libraries, museums of science, arts, and industry, and a teacher's union were established.[78] As a result of the abolition of the Law of Emergency Regulation in 1945 and the extension of the right to strike to teachers, the Tokyo Teachers' Union was organised with

GHQ's indirect support.[79] Various private educational groups were also established, including the Educational Technique Association, the Japanese Youth Teachers' Meeting, the Educational Science Study Meeting, the Meeting of Composition, and the Life Education Association.[80]

It has been said that the principles of the US Educational Mission report were in accordance with the opinion of the Japan Educationists Council, so that the adoption of democratic ideas prescribed in laws was not imposed by force.[81] However, the government rejected the adopted principles, step by step, and moved toward centralisation and autocratic control.

In educational administration, the following laws showed the rejection of decentralisation and the enforcement of educational centralization. The new Law of Education Boards in 1956 meant that education boards were appointed and no longer elected.[82] The Education Law on Educational Neutrality in Politics in 1954, the efficiency rating applied to teachers in 1957, the management allowance for headmasters of 1958, and the Subversive Activities Prevention Law of 1952 were all criticized as depriving teachers of freedom and moving towards educational centralization.[83] The enactment of such laws was vigorously opposed on innumerable occasions in the Diet, conventions of the Teachers' Unions, and Professors' Associations. The 6.3.3. system which was adopted has been judged ineffective in that the single track system appeared to be, in practice a multiple track system with decisions inside the single schools.[84] In the New Course of Study, students are divided into academic and career courses and a certain subject is given only for boys or for girls. It is argued that this practice

rejects that ideal of equal opportunity.[85]

Rejection of modern ideas in the curriculum area emerged more strongly after the revision of the Course of Study in 1958 and 1977. In particular, a standarisation of text books, the establishment of moral education for one hour a week, and the separation of geography from social study followed these revisions. The Course of Study was accompanied by a measure authorising new text books and drew sensational opposition.[86] The Course of Study was originally a guide on curricula for teachers, but the Ministry of Education in 1958 made public that it was to be the national standard. The opposition groups argued that individual instruction based on regional differences was neglected by uniform curricula and instruction. Moreover, the standardisation of textbooks which came to restrict the content of the curricula by law manifested a tendency towards nationalism, and rejected the study of life by enforcing the study of accademic knowledge.[87]

Social study was an entirely new subject in 1945. At the time of its establishment, the text books were modelled on American ones. As the teachers were unfamiliar with such a course, in practice they usually failed to employ the American form of study with play.[88] In any case, this method of instruction was criticized as being an American imitation. When moral education was introduced, many teachers and scholars objected to it because moral education might infuse a particular ethic or an idea of nationalism which could be found in shushin.[89] Whenever the Course of Study was revised, there was a debate about the inclusion of moral

education in the school curriculum and the use of a moral text book. These opinions were considered to lead towards the same idea as shushin, and were opposed by many educationists. On the other hand, moral education was introduced due to the ineffectiveness of social study, which had been placed in the centre of the democratic and new education. Thus, social study was adopted as a subject, but the later establishment of moral education revealed that social study had failed in its original role.

The enforcement on authorisation of text books was challenged on the grounds that it deprived people of the freedom of speech and publication. This was argued from the fact that the proportion of disqualified text books increased from 100 % - 20.0% before 1957 to an average of 30.0% after.[90] In particular, 50.0% of English text books and 40.0% of social study text books were excluded from schools. The revisions of the Course of Study were accompanied by development in curricular and new curriculum theory. However, they revealed a tendency towards educational centralisation.

For the above reasons the Japanese Teachers' Union and the Japanese Academic Association were against the revisions of the Course of Study. The Conservative Democratic Party supported their revision, but Reformist Opposition Parties fought against the revision.[91]

GHQ's recommendation to organise the Teachers' Union had been adopted despite much opposition by the Japanese Academic Council.[92] The Tokyo Teachers' Union was set up. However, the

passing of the Local Civil Law of 1950 prevented the application of the rights of a labour union to teachers. As a consequence the Tokyo Teachers' Union had to be renamed the Tokyo Teachers' Association, and it had no legal status. In 1951, a document entitled "10 Articles of the Ethic Principles of Teachers", protesting against the government's rejection of teachers' rights, was published.[93] It claimed that teachers were educational workers, and was put before in the Educational Study meeting held by the Tokyo Teachers Association. The ideas of the 10 Articles stemmed from the belief that educational activities should not be controlled by the authorities.

Various educational problems have emerged as a consequence of adopting new ideas and a new education system on the one hand, and of the government's rejection of the adopted ideas and education system on the other. Equal opportunity and the 6.3.3. system created peculiar educational problems and gave rise to student suicides, dishonest acts in the entrance examination among students, eductionists, and parents,[94] an increase of juku, after school private courses and yobiko,[95] preparatory schools for the entrance examinations, student violence and crime,[96] and the emergence of prestigious universities, which either have ties with business firms or whose graduates have a tendency to be employed in the civil service.[97] The long-established Japanese tradition of life employment also encourages this last phenomenon.[98]

The government's rejection of the adopted ideas and educational system encouraged an educational system which was closed in

nature, with authoritarian control and with a tendency towards nationalism.[99] The long term effects of this trend towards nationalisam can be seen in widespread prejudice against the Korean and Chinese minorities in Japan and in reduced opportunities for various groups enrolling in the Japanese education system or applying for employment as teachers.[100] A new educational problem of children overseas and child returnees is greatly affected by the closed nature of the education system. This theme is taken up in Chapter VI.

5 Society

The ideal model of the Japanese society after 1945 has been identified as a combination of the modern and the traditional features.[101] The modern features are predominant in the enacted laws, man's mode of life, resulting from the practice of laws, and accompanying activities in such fields as politics, economics, education, and society in general and social phenomena exemplified in cases of suicide. The traditional features are found in the Civil Law of 1947 (Articles 4 and 5 concerning kinship and the succession, the family system, its practice in the man's civil life, and the traditional obligation to the person or the group. Under the bureaucratic authority, man's civil life has been carried out rather traditionally, but man's mode of life tended to be substantially modern in terms of the individual's choice and personal fulfilment. Social phenomena seen in cases of suicide appear to be the consequence of the development of modern society, although reasons for suicide peculiar to Japan are rather traditional.

The following laws relate directly to the practice of man's civil life and indirectly to man's mode of life and social phenomena. The Constitution of Japan, enacted in 1946, revised the Meiji Constitution of 1890 on the advice of the Allies, and has been the norm of ideal society in Japan since 1946. The Constitution prescribed the nature of man in terms of fundamental human right (Article 11), respect of individuals (Article 13), equality of sex (Articles 14,44). Family life and human relations, marriage based on an individual will, equality of husband and wife concerning selection of a spouse, succession, the right of inheritance, the decision of their residence, and other matters concerning divorce, marriage, and the family were also governed by the Constitution. (Article 24) The mode of life is interpreted through the fundamental human rights (Articles 11-40),man's individual rights, and his personal freedom.

In the light of the Constitution a revision of the Civil Law of 1898 was passed in 1947. This Law prescribed the rules of man's civil life in Kinship and Succession (Articles 4, 5) and was directly derived from the Civil Law of 1898, with a few alterations. The traditional concepts still remained as a lawful contradiction or a lawful implication, so that these Articles play a major role in the continuation of the traditional concept of society ,and restrict man's civil life in practice.

The concept of 'the house and the family' and 'succession' found in the law, continue the parents' rights over their children up to the age of 20 (Article 4), control the establishment of a new 'house' and 'family' upon marriage by official family registration (Article 16, the Family Registration Law). Those

registered in the family become members of the family with the duty of supporting their blood relations including their parents and brothers and sisters (Article 877). This replaced the Civil Law of 1898 (Article 954) and specified the discriminative sucession for illegitimate children (Article 900). However, the Law of 1898 had also controlled the succession of genealogy, festival articles and the grave articles by a person who exercised the worship of ancestor (Article 897). In the revised law there was mention of who should be the sucessor of these items, which is at least modern in giving scope for choice.

5.1 Human Relations

The Revised Civil Law of 1947 changed the traditional family system and human relations lawfully to a certain degree. Yet, in practice, the concept of the traditional family system and human relations continued to be a compromise between the modern and the traditional.

The modern aspect of the family system and human relations are seen in the increase in the number of nuclear families, consisting of a couple with their children.[102] Theoretically, the wife and the husband have equal status in the relationship where a couple engage in their occupations.[103] Regardless of the wife's having her own occupation, in general the wife tends to manage the income for the maintenance of the house. The wife is no longer subordinate to her husband financially nor, as mother, to her eldest son before his marriage. According to custom, the wife may depend on her husband financially and psychologically. In this context, the right to establish a new family, the right of

equality between the wife and husband, and individuality prescribed in the law are applied.

On the other hand, the traditional concept of 'the house' and 'the family', with 'the sucession' being prescribed by contradictory laws based on the exercise of customary rules continues in practice.[104] Examples are found of an adopted son-in-law being the successor of the family, or the renunciation of rights of succession by a child and wife in favour of the eldest legitimate son (or the adopted son-in-law as husband of the eldest daugher).[105] At the hall of the marriage ceremony, the wedding is described as a marriage between two families, the A family and the B family, which indicates the continuation of the concept of 'the house'.[106]

The traditional features of man and the above concepts are also seen in the construction of nuclear families. The wife's lot includes all of the house work, bringing up children. If she is her parents' oldest daughter and has no brothers, she also has the customary obligation to support her parents,[107] and to succeed to items for the worship of ancestors.[108] The husband of the nuclear family may be registered as being in the same family as his parents, if he is eldest legitimate heir, even if he lives separately because of his occupation. The wife in this situation, again, feels subordinate to her parents-in-law, regardless of the separate residence. In this context, the wife cannot be equal with her husband in family affairs, nor be independent from the house and her relations.

So far as the family system and human relation are concerned, practice shows basically traditional aspects. The compromise between the modern and the traditional family system can be seen in general, but human relations are particularly traditional. Human relations between the wife and the husband outside of the house reflect those within in the house.[109] The wife has a degree of financial independence, as she traditionally controls the household money. But psychologically she is dependent upon her husband.

5.2 Marriage and Divorce

With respect to the laws applied to marriage, the traditional and irrelevant restrictions, such as the requirement for the parents'consent for marriage up to a late age, or the requirement to live with either of the couple's parents and their kin under the same roof after marriage, were abolished.[110] Article 24 of the Constitution allowed the male and the female equal, individual and free selection and decision regarding their marriage so long as they were over the marriageable age. That age is 18 for males and 16 for females (Article 731, the Civil Law). These aspects are modern in terms of providing individual liberty within the framework of the law. In the case of the male or the female who has not reached maturity, which for legal purposes is the age of 20, they must obtain consent from their parents, or either one of them when the consent of both is impossible (Article 736, the Civil Law).[111]

In practice, people have been following the traditional rules on marriage, and men and women obtain their parents' consent whether

they marry for love or have an arranged marriage, omiai.[112] In most cases, unless they are Christians or get married abroad, they follow the marriage ceremony of Buddhism or Shintoism.[113] The eldest legitimate son or daughter still takes responsibility for the support of their parents, whether they live with them or not. Upon marriage, whether one of the partners is the eldest legitimate son or daughter is a matter of importance. These aspects are traditional but are no longer enforceable by law.

Marriage for love, church weddings abroad, the remarriage of divorced women, and international marriages are found, and these cases have been increasing.[114] These are considered to be modern in terms of individual free will. This is in contrast with traditional values linked with group orientation and patriarchal authority. The traditional values are found in the prejudice that still persists against these phenomena.[115] This prejudice draws its strength not from the law, but from traditional concepts of the 'house' and from the traditional moral code based on Confucianism. The woman, especially the woman's moral view, is undervalued and her personality is underminded. Such practices are hardly be accepted by the community. Thus, she will have various disadvantages.

Unlike the unequal divorce terms between the husband and the wife before 1945, the Revised Civil Law of 1947 provided for divorce by agreement and for both men and women to have equal rights in suing for divorce (Articles 763-769 and Articles 770,771). Divorce by agreement accompanies equal and free decision on their children's guardianship (Article 766), freedom to reject an adopted sur name (Article 767), and an equal right to claim the

certain inheritance of items of the ancestors (Articles 768,769). Reasons for the divorce suit apply equally to the husband and the wife (Article 770). These aspects are modern.

In practice, cases of divorce are not yet popular nor is divorce favourably regarded, and attitudes can be considered to be traditional in terms of the prejudice against the concept of divorce itself, that is, the denial of the individual rights and freedoms. The divorce rate has climbed from 0.79% (per 1.000 persons) in 1965 to 1.14% in 1977.[116] In comparison, in USA it was 5.02% in 1976, in the USSR 3.35% in the same year, and in Hungary 2.54% in 1977. This suggests that the divorce rate is much less than that of Western countries. From this comparison, and the comparison of the reasons for divorce in Japan, the general concept of divorce can be considered to be traditional.[117] The obligation to adhere to the family group, and the traditional moral code seems to dissuade people from divorce. In addition, in the case of women, who are in general placed in a disadvantaged situation by divorce, financial problems may be a consideration.

5.3 Man's Mode of Life

With the rapid economic development accompanied by changes in various activities in such fields as politics, education and society in general at home and abroad, especially from the 1960s, man's mode of life changed.[118] Economic development and various activities relating to foreign countries show modern aspects in terms of openness to modern knowledge. The mode of life, including attire, diet, housing, hotels, restaurants,

entertainment patterns, music and films, became Americanised after 1945 and in the 1950s, Westernized in the 1960's and then internationalized from 1970s.[119] On the other hand, the Japanese mode of life revived, having come to be appreciated for various special occasions - Japanese costume, typical Japanese menu for New years day and other occasions, an instalment of at least one Japanese type room with Japanese fitments, the Japanese inn for occasional meetings, entertaining outsiders such as Japanese friends or foreign visitors at home, and typical Japanese music, films, and plays were enjoyed by all levels of Japanese and also foreign people for special occasions.

The availability of materials, facilities, and provisions for these modes of life, both in Japan and worldwide, belong to the modern aspects of the above mentioned field. But the personal appreciation and involvement of outsiders in these modes of life indicate the modern aspect in terms of personal fulfilment, individual selection and decision, and above all man's openness. Yet it is to be noted that the modern aspect of man's mode of life is considered to be only a superficial sign of modernity. At a deeper level, man's civil life involves complicated human relations, both modern and traditional in aspect.

5.4 Suicide

The Police White Papers and other sources suggest that the trends in suicide rate, age groups, causes, and means of suicide after 1945 was different from that of before 1945.[120] The characteristics of suicide after 1945 implied a significant modern social phenomenon of new types of suicide as well as the

old types for different reasons. This is in contrast to the substantially traditional and partially modern social phenomenon observed between 1868 to 1945. Yet, it cannot be denied that most cases of suicide stemmed from the struggle and conflict between the traditional and the modern natures of man and society, which is particular to Japan. The suicide trend after 1945, thus shows the modern and traditional aspect.

From 1945, the suicide rate climbed with two peaks of suicide in 1958 and 1978.[121] This related to the rapid economic development and a change in the mode of social life. The suicide age groups indicated a new trend of suicide, namely the suicide of the juveniles between the age of 15-19 (4.2% of the total suicide) and of those the aged over 65 years (49.0%).[122] This indicated a serious social problem. The former was caused mainly by educational and social problems.[123] The latter was due to the emergence of the nuclear family, by the change of the traditional family system to that of the modern.[124]

In spite of differences between male and female patterns of suicide, the majority of suicides of both sexes were related to the struggle and contradiction between the modern and the traditional nature of social life.[125] For the male, the major causes stemmed from the stress produced by the deep indebteness incurred to pay for the modern and luxurious life and a traditional view of responsibility, or an escape from it. There was also conflict between the modern view of family service and the traditional faithful service in the life-long employment,and between the modern and the traditional human relations in the

office. For the female, there were children's educational problems and the mothers' spirit of dependency, double burden of housework and work outside the house, and tension between the modern and the traditional human relations between wife and husband, wife and mother-in-law, and mother and son.[126]

Suicide abroad was found among the young and married people affected by modern social phenomena such as travelling or residing abroad.[127] Causes of their suicide were substantially traditional having resulted from a feeling of loneliness relating to the traditional man and language or cultural differences between Japan and foreign countries, which relate to the traditional knowledge.

The causes of suicide up to 1945 were generally due to problems of 1) economics, 2) politics or business, 3) education, in particular students' failing an examination, and 4) the male and female getting married. These types of suicide continued from 1945.[128] However, the nature of problems in suicide differed. The main economic difficulties were brought about by a change from poverty to a luxurious life. Political and business changes meant that most suicides for these reasons felt the lack of group coherence and resistance to the bureaucratic system. Students were less likely to commit suicide out of obligation to their parents, but more likely to have a defiant attitude which might lead to drug addiction, crime, a neglect of schooling, and eventual suicide. In connection with the fourth cause, the suicide of men and women whose prospective marriage is opposed by their families no longer occurs, although the opposition itself still occurs. Thus, the nature of the problems which produced

suicides have changed in various ways as a result of the modernisation of society.[129]

Young people have been particularly affected by the modernisation of society and the shift from egoism-altruism to anomie-fatalism, or social disintegration in Durkheim's terms.[130] Suicides since 1945 have obviously been affected by multiple modern social phenomena in the struggle between the modern and the traditional nature of man and society.[131]

6 Summary

The examination of the practical application of the Japanese Constitution demonstrates that ideal Japanese society, man, and knowledge are dual in nature. Modern aspects can be seen in the framework of political, economic, educational, and social organisations, while traditional aspects appear in the administrative operation, and human relations. Traditional human relationships are particular evident in economic institutions and the family.

Modern features of American ideas were adopted under compulsion, and institutions re-organised, between 1945 and 1959, when Japan was occupied. After 1951, Japan recovered her independence in the realm of politics, began expanding her economy and education system, and the standard of living in Japan rose. This aspect is modern, although, Japan still had to depend on America for security, technical knowledge (until the 1950's), and for study abroad. Japan's dependency on foreign countries decreased in scope and degree after 1956 when Japan joined the UN, and various

other international organisations. Japan continued to depend on USA for security and for cultural exchanges in education, arts, and science. These aspects are still traditional.

Traditional aspects in administrative operations, policies, and human relations can be identified as those which persisted from 1868, which have already been examined in Chapter IV. There are, of course, differences between the period up to 1945 and that after 1945. The influence of democratic ideas and a view of human rights prescribed in laws is much more strongly marked since 1945. Accordingly, traditional aspects are found less after 1945. However, the exercise of traditional, personal authority has changed very little. The problems identified in Chapter I are therefore more serious after 1945.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF EDUCATION

1 Introduction

In this chapter the problem is examined as it arises in the educational system. The role of education in the process of internationalisation is analysed. In particular the question of whether education does or should serve the needs of individuals or the needs of the state is examined.

As far as the explicit aims of the majority of agencies involved in education are concerned, the role of education in Japan is to promote the internationalisation of the nation, and hence to eliminate traditional 'mental states', and promote individual development in accordance with the ability and wishes of that individual. This emphasis on individual development can be seen to accord with modern and international features of man, especially with the idea of education as a 'human right'.

In practice, education has operated in terms of the traditional 'mental states', and hence to transmit traditional views. This is examined through the specific legislation on education and the way in which the curriculum, and particularly shushin, has stressed group and national orientation at the expense of individual development. Education has been promoted in the national interest, and this has led to a narrow interpretation of what is required in the modernisation and internationalisation of education. Technical competence in foreign languages has been the object of some stress in the educational system, but the structure of authority in the schools has not made it possible

for those with favourable talent or experience which would dispose them to learn foreign languages well to develop their potential fully.

This case of the conflict between some of the traditional 'mental states' with some of the explicit norms of the educational system can be illustrated by a study of the education of children overseas, and the education of child returnees. Although these children are favourably placed to develop the kind of international skills and attitudes which are seen as necessary to the promotion of national aspirations, the school system is not flexible enough in its general atmosphere to permit their full development. As a result, children who have lived abroad for considerable periods are consider_ed to be, to some extent, "foreign". They are then subject to some of the traditional prejudices against foreigners. The outcome of this treatment is that children who have been educated overseas, and child returnees to the Japanese educational system, consistently do less well in the educational system than the average. This can be substantiated through a number of indicators, such as average grades, drop-out rates, health disturbances and so on.

In the light of the analysis which has been offered, the author of this thesis puts forward the recommendation that education should be internationalised through the introduction of bilingual instruction for child returnees from overseas. The case of child returnees was taken up specifically because their problem is one of the major national concerns in education, and is directly related to the broader issue of increasing international

contacts.

Bilingual education can be a bridge between the provision of education suitable for the individual children who have lived or studied abroad according to their own needs and learning Japanese characteristics and maintaining 'international characteristics'. The recommendation for bilingual education would not only serve the interests and individual needs of the children concerned, but would also contribute generally to the internationalisation of Japan.

2 Government Policy

In the light of the Japanese Constitution, the Fundamental Law of Education, and the School Education Law, general international features were to be conveyed through formal and informal education,[2] and all subjects, but in particular through social study, English, and dotoku, moral education.[3] Knowledge concerning the spirit of international cooperation and international understanding stipulated in the School Education Law, Article 18 is to convey through moral education a view of human rights. English education contributes to international understanding in terms of foreign customs and culture,and the way foreigners think and act through communication.[4] Social studies implies a broad range of international knowledge, e.g. knowledge of international society, peace and welfare, human rights, international cooperation in all fields, and international understanding through history and geography.[5]

Since Japan has been participating in large measure in the

international society, but has been facing various problems, policies to promote international features were proposed by the government.[6] The Central Council of Education in 1975 proposed 'International Exchange in Education, Arts and Science, and Culture. The Study Council under the Ministry of Education in 1976 proposed 'The Basic Policy to Promote Education for Children Overseas' in accordance with the Resolution of the Standing Committee for Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 1973.[7] The Japan National Commission for Unesco in the Ministry of Education issued guidance for 'Education for International Understanding in Schools'. The first two policies promote specific international features in formal and informal education through international exchange. The third policy promotes general international features through school education.

The policy of the Central Council emphasised the raising of Japanese men who can cope with, and contribute to the international society.[8] That is, the raising of international men with a general understanding of international society, as well as international men with specific understanding as leaders. The general international men are to be brought up in elementary and secondary schools and the specific international men are to be educated as professionals in universities. The Council also emphasised the promotion of specific international men who are already leaders in educational and social institutions, for their own sake and for bringing up future international men.

As for international knowledge it is proposed that the following form the basis of instruction:[9] i) human rights, broadly implied in the education for international understanding, ii)

international laws, implied in the study on international relations in university courses, iii) culture of the world, i.e. the culture and tradition of Japan and other countries, foreign language as a means of communication for students in secondary schools and universities and teachers and instructors of foreign language ; cultural anthrolopology, regional studies (South-East Asian studies and Asian-African linguistic studies and comparative study for university students, exchange of works of arts and culture in society, and iv) science, i.e. human science for university students, the international study of an observation in the Antarctic territory and UN university, exchange of academic information in the material and reference centre and by translating academic references.

In order to bring up and to promote international men, the above international knowledge is to be conveyed through education for international understanding, and specifically by th exchange of people and the exchange of academic information and of arts and culture. In this policy, the government proposed, in addition, to consolidate further the system for such international exchanges, to provide further lodgings for receiving foreigners, to coopoerate with developing countries in such fields as education, academics, and culture, and to promote Japanese education for foreigners. The government expects to carry out such a policy not only in educational institutions but also at the public level, through volunteers, business enterprises or other bodies.[10]

The Study Council proposed that children overseas and those returned from overseas should be future specific international

men. For these children, international knowledge is again identified as foreign languages, history, and geography.[11] Such knowledge would be obtained overseas in local schools, Japanese schools through the mutual exchange with local schools or by receiving foreign children in Japanese schools overseas. The Central Council advocated that these children should be future specific international men, since they are placed in a favourable position to obtain international knowledge abroad. Thus they are included in the policy of international exchange.

In accordance with the Unesco document,'The Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms',[12] and in the light of the policy of 'Education for International Understanding' proposed by the Central Council of Education,[13] the Japan National Commission for Unesco issued a concrete curriculum for education for international understanding with practical examples for kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, in addition to that for the education for children returned from overseas.[14] Features of international man, knowledge, and society were in accord with those of the Central Council of Education. However, the Council emphasised the international knowledge as mutual understanding of life, customs, history, and tradition, so that the Japanese should know themselves and their situation in international society, not to indulge themselves in their own culture and concepts of value, but to see the world with an open and broad view.

3 Non-governmental Proposals

Since the 1970s, the internationalisation of Japan in the fields of politics, economics, education, and society in general has been taken up as popular and fashionable, or through serious, issue in newspapers, magazines, books, and reports at official and unofficial levels. Why has the public come to pay so much attention to the internationalisation of Japan since the middle 1970s? Symposia organised by non-government organisations detailed hereafter, revealed some of the reasons - Japan has not internationalised on the whole and she faces crucial problems in international society because of her rapid economic development.

The Study Committee of Education System of the Japan Teachers Association proposed the question, 'How is international solidarity in education promoted?' in relation to educational reform for the internationalisation of education.[15] The Association's emphasis was on international solidarity in the general international society, and the education of general international men who are to be cultivated with fundamental human rights not for understanding abstract international peace but for contributing to scientific and historical international peace. For these future general international men, general international knowledge were to be fundamental human rights. They were to be taught about international laws, specifically the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights', various international conventions of human rights, and the Japanese Constitution, the culture of the world, in particular Asian culture, and historical and scientific understanding of recognition of the world. Teachers should become specific international men by obtaining especially

historical and scientific understanding of the world, and by having the opportunity to participate in movements of international solidarity.

Other proposals of the Japan Teachers' Association included reforms regarding international exchange and cooperation in education which should carried out on a democratic basis in the interest of the people and not only in the interests of the government. The protection of educational rights for Korean who reside in Japan, the strengthening of international solidarity of the teachers association with teachers from the whole world by international exchange, and the promotion of education in foreign languages, which should not be taught as a skill but as a key to to understand the way foreigners think and features of their culture and history, were also advocated.

The Committee for Citizen's Consciousness, Social Foundation Kansai Economic Friendship Society made proposal which centred on general international features, in particular, general international men as good citizens, who require general international knowledge of public morality, rules, manners, and open patriotism.[16] In the general international society, an essential measure to promote such men with such knowledge is the fostering of variety among individual personalities and the enrichment of originality through changing the undercurrent of citizens' consciousness and the social events.

In the proposal, firstly, neglected characteristics of general features of international men, knowledge, and society were identified. Concrete practical measures were proposed to train

public morals through changing parents' consciousness and the discipline of children by those parents to cultivate open patriotism by openness and the development of an 'international national character', in particular, by abolishing the use of the expression gaijin, foreigners, and to foster variety in individual personality and an rich originality through changing the educational view of the people.[17] The last proposal included concrete measures to introduce a principle of competition, to diversify educational opportunity, to re-examine the content of curriculum, to consider study methods concentrating solely on results, and to launch a public campaign that a preferable employee may be valued for other things than his knowledge.

The Centre for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, held numerous Symposia on 'Considering Education of Children Overseas', in 1978 and 1980, including themes on the education of children overseas and child returnees in relation to solving their problems and education for international understanding. Participants included teachers, academics, officials, businessmen, and parents. The content of proposals was rather similar to those of the government. Proposals included the promotion of education for children overseas and children returned from overseas.[18] The acquisition of a foreign language and the teaching of the general culture of other countries as specific international knowledge were also encouraged.[19] Communication with and cooperation with local schools and society for international understanding was advocated.[20] The spread of understanding and culture of Japan and other countries through comparing them,[21] the identification of special international

features in children returning from overseas were suggested.[22] The study of educational content, adaptability, and language education for these children was also advised.[23] The proposals were centred on specific features of man, knowledge, and society.

A wide variety of people including teachers, students, government officials, academics, parents, and foreigners from all fields countributed a multiplicity of views and proposals through public symposia, which were mainly of two kinds; 'Symposia for bringing up international man' and 'International Symposia, Japan Speaks'. The former were held under the sponsorship of the Mainichi Newspaper Company, in 1977 in Mexico, in 1980 in Japan, and in 1982 in Germany. The latter, in 1980,1981, and 1982 were held in Japan under the sponsorship of Suntory Company.

In the 'International Symposia, Japan Speaks', the symposium of 1980 discussed the topic of culture and society of Japan, the symposium of 1981 politics and economics, and the symposium of 1982 on the image of Japan.[24] Proposals of these symposia were rational and possible measures in the fields of politics, economics, education, and society. In politics, proposals were more or less to increase military power, to internationalise policy decisions, to avoid bureaucratism, and not to deny individuality. In economics, proposals included the expansion of importation and the opening of protected sections of institutions at home. In society they were to receive more refugees and foreigners. In education, it was proposed that Japan should contribute not only to finance in the international arena, but also to human resources, and that the Japanese elite should possess a sense of elitism. The proposals on the whole concerned

policies and practices of specific international features of man and society. Specific international knowledge was mentioned, but the traditional features of knowledge about Japanese tradition were discussed as an element included in Japanese culture.

The Symposia for Bringing up International Man, focussed on promoting education of children overseas and child returnees.[25] In the area of the curriculum, it was proposed that there should be an increase in optional subjects in the upper secondary schools, a development of creativity and intellect in the university, to avoid the university being the place for issuing a 'graduate technical passport',[26] a recognition of religious education as a common point in the world,[27] and teaching that 'secular value' is not the ultimate puupose at home and in society.[28] It was also proposed that a test of composition and an interview should be a sufficient entrance examination for child returnees.[29] Other proposals were fundamentally similar to that of the Basic Policy for Promoting Education of Children Overseas. Proposals in other fields were rather abstract, emphasising the need for experts.[30]

The general consensus in these public symposia has been based on the idea that international society is based on world peace, order, and freedom. But little attention has been paid to international laws, to the distinction between specific international society and general international society.

The present international society has been described as a 'global society', 'one united community for fate', and 'an international-

interdependent' society.[31] These expressions meant that the general international society has expanded.[32] It has been widely recognised that this society has been changing to a more complicated society, in which world peace, security, and human existence have been disturbed by wars, problems of unemloyment, prejudice against race, colour or creed and by the refugee problem. The solution proposed by these symposia to this have touched on abstract exhortations to cooperate, to understand, and to depend on inter-dependency.

In the general international society of Japan, ideas of equality and freedom are hindered by the closed nature of society of Japan. The 'closed society' is applied to Japan as an isolated nation with its monolingual and monocultural nationality.[33] Japanese society has been a homogeneous, uniform, and molecular society.[34] In this society, the people communicate with each other with few words. Accordingly the Japanese people lack both understanding of heterogeneous peoples and their culture, and the techniques to make bridges between peoples.[35] As a result, Japanese society is closed to outsiders, whether they are Japanese themselves or foreigners.

Social institutions are closed and prejudiced against other institutions.[36] Institutions of education, business enterprises, and government offices are too bureaucratic, and they are therefore closed and anti-individualistic, and they deny the practice of equality and freedom. On the other hand, peace can be easily maintained within a single institution.[37]

The following expressions used in the public symposia refer to

the general international man and express dissatisfaction with the present preparation of international men : 'A new type of Japanese international man' is to be 'the global citizen' and 'the world citizen' since all Japanese belong to the international society through membership of the UN and other international organisations to which Japan belongs.[38] General international man should possess 'plenty of international characteristics', which can be interpreted as international features of man and knowledge, as stated in the International Model.[39] As for human rights, he should 'respects equal rights, he can be able to express himself', and 'he can give and take'.[40] However, these statements are highly abstract, while still stressing specific international features, particularly language, and the ability to express oneself.

What distinguishes specific international features of man in human rights from general international features is the assumption that human rights are primarily practised in the specific international society. Accordingly, specific international man should be adaptable to any climate of the specific international society. In this context, specific international man would an 'international-nationalist' who is 'A new Japanese who can be adaptable to the world',[41] in particular in terms of his personality or characteristics and knowledge of culture and society where he resides, and one who is to be 'specialist' as his profession and 'generalist' as his adaptability and broad view in his specific international society as well as within Japan.[42] This presumption that general international knowledge is part of the specific knowledge of

those few specialists who are actively involved in international organisations serves to confuse many of the problems faced by Japan in her internationalisation.

The phenomena of secularisation in terms of materialism,[43] and lack of any religious belief,[44] the adaption of foreign ideas and institutions technically to suit the Japanese society,[45] and the competitive society,[46] have been identified as peculiar to Japan. These features are considered to be modern. Such a society is rather selfish,[47] and pays little attention to the welfare of humanity, international understanding, and cooperation.[48] This situation is liable to continue until Japan becomes deadlocked and realises it.

'It must be only Japanese who seriously consider and discuss international man',[49] was mentioned frequently in the symosia, so desperately is the specific international man required at present in Japan.[50] This was also mentioned in the government proposals. There has been a general failure to identify human rights prerequisite for both general and specific international men.

Knowledge required for genral international man can be identified as civicism, i.e., respect for equality, an open view on value, and responsibility for justice which is to be obtained by 'civic education'. These features generally come under the heading of human rights. Knowledge about culture of the world has been identified, and can be considered to be included in 'international characteristics', which did receive mention in the symposia.[51]

Knowledge required for specific international man included 'adaptability' of man's characteristics, culture and society, the specific international society 'a sense of balance' and 'international sense'. These are related to human rights, but also belong to knowledge obtained predominantly through experience at home or abroad. In connection with 'adaptability', a deep knowledge about the culture of the world and international organisations including international laws should be obtained.[52] Foreign languages were particularly emphasized. Besides identifying desirable features of international man, the public symposia also identified traditional features which are a hindrance to the internationalisation of Japan. Regarding human rights, 'Japanese sincerity is self-satisfaction', 'clings only to the Japanese value','lacks humanity and personality to respect and to understand the partner', and is 'narrow minded nationalism'.[53] There is a rejection of 'individual character and competence', a 'lack of recognition of personality in equal terms', a 'closed nature of Japanese', a 'lack of consideration and manners', and an 'adoration of the white man and making light of the people of the Third World and Asians'.[54] These indicate rejection of the general features of international man. Expressions of 'Japanese who are conceited, noisy, and who do not make any effort towards self-defence' and who are 'economic animals' would belong to rejection of specific features of interntional man.[55] In relation to responsibility and duty, rejection was also raised in connection with an inability 'to keep a promise' and 'the big gap between the principle and reality'.[56] However, less attention was paid to this.

Some comments were made of which the following are typical; 'A man whose nationality is ambiguous cannot be respected in foreign countries' or 'to sacrifice oneself for the human race and the Japanese society'.[57] The former refers to discrimination, and the latter to the idea that individuals should not be forced to serve the nation as a duty. The terminologies of 'global citizen' and 'world citizen' - cosmopolitan or universal citizen - need careful explanation,[58] for they may cover a denial of national or personal development.[59]

A number of expressions used in the discussion of international man, such as, 'When a Japanese has internationalised, he will no longer be a Japanese', or,'Towards the end of promoting bringing up international men, what would he become as a Japanese Japanese?', certainly revealed some misinterpretations in the definition of international man.[60] The major feature of international society, according to the international model of man, is to recognise and practise human rights. There should be no discrimination whether he is a Japanese, any other nationality, or even one who has no nationality at all. Any individual is a member of international society in accordance with the UN Charter. Hence he is an international man. It is the question of the quality of international man, and type of occupation, whether general or specific, which is appropriate to an international man, and the quality of international knowledge, which should be the centre of the debate.

A rejection of international knowledge and foreign culture - the way foreigners live, and foreign language as a means of communication - was also pointed out.[61] It was suggested that

knowledge related to human rights had been ignored. The Japanese view of value was much attacked in the symposia by both Japanese and foreigners. The rejection of knowledge on international understanding and cooperation, and welfare of humanity certainly emerged from neglect of human rights. This neglect was caused mainly by the peculiar and traditional features of society. Customary rules and extreme bureaucracy represent the closed nature of Japanese institutions in all fields.

Public opinion regarding international features of man, society, and knowledge in theory basically accorded with the International Model. There was a general failure to recognise the importance of either international laws, or science in relation to environmental problems. Ambiguity and confusion were found between features of specific and general international society, man, and knowledge, as well as misinterpretation of their features.[62] Yet, the symposia certainly exposed and identified problems for internationalisation of Japan, in that certain traditional features persist and showed the beginning of a realisation that not only specific international man but also general international man are to be educated to fit in to the general international society.

4 Assessment of the Proposed Policies

Concerning the international exchange scheme and the Basic Policy for Education of Children Overseas, policies were implemented and have been in effect to a certain degree.[63] However, the consequence is an inconsistency between theory and practice. In connection with the exchange scheme, the selection of exchange

teachers or students tended to take place at the governmental level but not the public level. The ratio of receiving exchange visitors from developing countries is lower than those of developed countries.[64] This is an outcome of the government's discrimination against race, language, and nation, which is consistent with the practice of human rights on the national level.

International knowledge for children overseas, i.e. foreign languages, geography, history, and culture of other countries, was proposed in the Basic Policy. Children overseas, especially those attending local schools, have certainly acquired such knowledge. However, the Japanese education system, educationists, and social institutions have not given much help in developing their acquired knowledge for specific international man. This case illustrates the inconsistency between theory and practice in the area of ~~of~~ international knowledge and man in the field of education. The specific international knowledge of children overseas and their characteristics of international manhood have tended to be ignored both in schools and organisations in society.[65] 'International Understanding in School', focused on general international features, was introduced only a few years ago, and results from its practice cannot be yet assessed.

In theory Japan joined the specific international society as an independent country and Japanese society is included in the general international society.[66] However, in practice, government policies, and non-governmental proposals or public opinion,[67] revealed that Japan cooperated with and contributed to the

specific international society unevenly and unfairly in terms of human rights and in the face of various problems.[68] In general international society, Japanese organisations tended to be closed in nature due to extreme bureaucratism in accordance with concrete laws and rules, which resulted in prejudice against outsiders.

Japanese specific international men face various problems in the specific international society and international experts adaptable in the international climate are scarce. Japanese general international men are not adaptable to the general international society both abroad and at home. Both specific and general international men are prejudiced against outsiders, in particular the people and countries of developing countries. Common problems of these men are that they do not practice human rights sincerely.

In connection with the above problems, for both specific and general international men lack respect for human rights, knowledge of international laws, culture and society of foreign countries, and in particular they lack competence of foreign language and scientific insight. The closed nature of Japanese man is due to the closed nature of Japanese organisations, which derived from concrete laws and customary rules.[69] At the same time it cannot be denied that the geographical situation of the isolated island of Japan and homegeneous and unilingual society of Japan are unfavourable for Japanese men to enter into an international society.[70]

Government policies and non-government proposals, thus realised

that such problems exsisted, and proposed to promote specific and general international features by eliminating these problems. Government policies focused on the need for international exchanges for students and experts and for study abroad for children accompanying their parents. This would enable the students and experts to be active in the specific international society through experience. The government Basic Policy for Education of Children Overseas, public opinion in Symposia for Education of Children Overseas, and those of the Mainichi Company, focused on features of specific international men and businessmen adaptable in the specific international society and teachers to educate such future specific international men by similar measures. Rejected international features were pointed out without much distinction being made between specific and general international features of man, knowledge, and society.

The public proposals in the International Symposia sponsored by the Suntory Company focussed on the internationalisation of Japan by an open policy in politics and economic organisations. By this means it was thought that the Japanese could acquire knowledge of foreign languages and foreigners of the Japanese language, and international men would develop confidence, without becoming complacent. On the whole, it was proposed that Japanese specific and general international men should be adaptable in both specific and general international society, by practicing human rights sincerely and being able to communicate in both foreign languages and Japanese.

The government policy of 'Education for International

Understanding in Schools' proposed the promotion of general international features, although failing to stress the most basic problem, which is the lack of practice of human rights. The Kansai Economic Friendship Society covered this area by proposing measures for general international men to be good citizens. On the other hand, the Japan Teachers Association focussed on general international men, specifically for children and teachers to obtain the spirit of international solidarity through unprejudiced curricula and teacher participation in international conferences. This Association touched on overall measures to eliminate problems, since the Association implied the importance of human rights which lies under all problems so far identified for the internationalisation of Japan.

Government policies were implemented in practice. Non-governmental public proposals revealed that the consequence is not satisfactory. On the whole, society in Japan has not been yet internationalised, neither for specific nor general Japanese men. Obtaining international knowledge is desperately needed, if possible through overseas experience at the public level too. Up to now, people who have proposed policies have not clearly differentiated between general and specific international features of man, knowledge, and society nor categorised problems associated with them. Policies cannot, therefore, be linked with the major problems identified.

5 Basic Problems of Children Overseas and Returnees

Educational problems of Japanese children overseas and returnees have existed ever since Japan began her diplomatic relations with foreign countries in 1868 and Japanese diplomats were sent overseas. Besides diplomats' children, large numbers of children of emigrant workers and businessmen accompanied their parents overseas with Japan's expansion of business in certain countries of Asia, Europe, and North and South America.[71] After 1960, the educational problems of children overseas and returnees became a matter of serious national concern, when the number of children overseas tripled and child returnees increased six times between 1971 and 1979.[72] The majority of their parents, roughly 70%, are engaged in business, and the remaining 30% in education and diplomacy. Over one third of children overseas have lived in North America, with sizeable numbers in Asia and Europe (25% and 20% respectively). The remainder are scattered throughout the rest of the world. In the majority of cases, the period spent abroad is between one and five years, though a small number spend as many as ten years overseas.

Children overseas receive an education either in local schools in the existing educational system of the host country or in Japanese Day Schools overseas. In the former case this may, or may not, be supplemented by an additional day of Japanese teaching, by a correspondence education course, or in very few cases, by an individual tutor. This additional education consists of teaching the Japanese language in the same way as it is taught in Japan. The languages learned abroad are English, French, German, Spanish, and other foreign languages which are usually

learned by children attending local schools.

Concerning the relationship between the children's age and the simultaneous processes of acquiring foreign language and culture and losing the Japanese language and culture research carried out so far indicates that children under ten take one year to learn English, and, if they attend local schools for at least three years before reaching the age of ten years, their level of English competence is the same as the local children.[73] At the same time they come to possess a local cultural identity and lose both their competence in Japanese and their sense of Japanese identity. These processes are accelerated when the children have had no previous education within the Japanese school system, either before leaving home or overseas in Supplementary education schools, and when the local lanuage is spoken amongst members of the family.

The older group, who have already developed a competence in Japanese language, and acquired a Japanese identity, before leaving Japan, find it more difficult to acquire the local language : it takes two to three years before their competence in the foreign language exceeds their competence in Japanese, and they do not lose their own language or cultural identity completely. However, the longer they stay abroad, the higher their competence in the local language becomes, and the more their level of competence in Japanese falls behind. These children also suffer from considerable confusion over their cultural identity on returning to Japan. One could expect that children overseas who only attend local schools to have the most difficulty in re-entering the Japanese education system and those

who attended the Japanese day school abroad to have the least.[74] Those under ten years old have more difficulties than those over ten, as a general rule.

The kinds of re-entry problems these children encounter as a result of lingustic and cultural experience abroad, bearing in mind that the Japanese educational system and employment requirements have been relatively inflexible, have been identified by a number of researchers. It is said in general that many child returnees find great difficulty in adapting themselves to school life in Japan. The general problems can be roughly categorised into four phenomena and some examples of these are presented below:[75]

Problem	Child returnees	Children resident in Japan
1) Retardation of Learning		
School grades (average)	C+	B
2) Mental and physical disturbance		
non-attendance at school	2%	lower percentages than those of child returnees
ill health	5%	
experience in other forms	53%	
3) Failure rate		
upper secondary school	45%	
university	62%	
4) Limited occupational opportunities		higher percentage than those of child returnees
employment in public service	4%	

The above statistical evidence is too simple. However, it presents a general picture of the degree of difficulty that these children find.

Whilst overseas, parents are under some pressure, exerted through unofficial or informal channels,to send their children to local schools, since these children are expected to contribute to the internationalisation of Japan under the present circumstances of Japan, which have already been described. It is at these schools that there are conflicts about how much the children should speak the local language at school, at home etc. Local teachers do not necessarily understand the need to retain Japanese competence; parents vary in their language and behavioural demands on the children.[76] Subsequently, on return to Japan, the children are exposed to different expectations and attitudes towards their 'foreignness' : teachers and fellow pupils often make them feel unwanted and ridiculed, contrary to the government policy to promote their 'international sense or characteristics'. Members of the general population, however, express envy of their foreign experience, but only so long as they do not behave in a foreign way.

For both Japanese children overseas and returnees, the initial problem is selecting a school; local school or Japanee school whilst overseas and general school or special school for the children returnee at the time of returning home. At the second stage the general problem is one of adapting themselves into the school life of a chosen school and the life of the society in which they reside. The general problems can be categorized as i) learning problems, ii) mental and physical disturbances, iii) discrimination against race or foreignness, iv) difficulty of entering fairly prestigious secondary schools and universities and v) occupational opportunity.[77]

The above problems stem from differences of language and culture, although language is related to culture. Therefore, the basic problem is language competence in the language used as a medium of instruction in the school.[78] As important as the language competence in the medium of instruction is the maintenance of the language which is not used by the child in thir present circumstances, i.e. Japanese when overseas or the foreign language for returnees. This is important not only for practical reasons but also because of the general influence which mastery of two languages has on the child's character.[79]

Maintaining Japanese as mother tongue while overseas is encouraged by government programmes to a greater extent than maintaining foreign languages as second language for child returnees. In spite of this, children overseas in local schools have difficulty in maintaining their mother tongue, in the same way as these same children on returning home face difficulties in re-acquiring Japanese. Children of different ages face these difficulties to different degrees, as has already been mentioned. The problems are exacerbated by ineffective instruction and curricula of both Japanese supplementary schools and schools in Japan.[80] Although the preparation of 'specific international man' in 'specific international society' is the professed policy of the government, inconsistency between theory and practice, in terms of the aim of education for child returnees, and the closed nature of the education system and institutions of Japan, means that this goal is not achieved.

Problems of children overseas and returnees are thus related to

some general problems in Japan. Japanese men face various problems both in specific and general international societies, and Japanese specific international men are scarce.[81] In these circumstances, they are urgently required,[82] for which the children with 'international characteristics', in particular foreign languages, culture, and manners of foreign countries, are considered to be suitable for specific international men.[83]

The problems of these children came to command serious attention for the first time in the 1960s, due to Japan's significant economic development.[84] Their problems originated from the change of environment between Japan and foreign countries.[85] The general problem is difficulty in adapting themselves into school life and society but the basic problem can be identified as arising out of differences of language and culture, from which other problems followed.[86]

6 Alternative Proposal - Bilingual Instruction for Children Returning from Overseas

Government and non-government organisations proposed various solutions for the internationalisation of Japan in public symposia. Among these solutions, the majority emphasized the idea that through the education of children overseas and those returned home as specific international man, having international knowledge, and able to fit into specific international society, Japan's desperate need for such specific international men could be satisfied. In this area, the proposal of the author of this thesis is made to give bilingual instruction to children who have returned from overseas, and who have most difficulty in adapting themselves to the life of school and society in general.[87]

In this connection, the policy and its practice for the education of children overseas and returnees are argued in view of the aims of education, and in particular human rights.

In the preparation of international men, a distinction has to be drawn between features of general internationalisation, e.g. acceptance of human rights, and positive attitudes to other cultures and world peace, and specific internationalisation, e.g. language skills and technical knowledge necesary to operate in international organisations.

In looking at government proposals one can identify a recognition on the part of the government of the need to prepare people with specific international skills. Overseas children and returnees, by virtue of their high level of skill in a foreign languages and knowledge of at least one other culture, are ideally suited for that kind of preparation. What has been less clearly recognised is that specific international men must also acquire general internationalist features. In dealing with foreigners in an international forum, they will only function effectively at the technical level if they acquire attitudes of mutual respect for the people with whom they are working. In addition, the family of the specific international man is obliged to acquire some international features.

In Japanese society, in Japan, general features of international society have not been emphasised. This creates particular difficulties for the specific international man, and child

returnees, in setting into society in Japan. If this is the case, the preparation of people with specific skills for international life is a denial of their human rights, and of their right to have an education which fits them for society. Those men who are prepared to work in specific international society, lose, for themselves and their families, their position in Japanese society. The few individuals suffer disadvantage for the acknowledged benefit of the nation as a whole.

This arises from a failure to recognise the differences between specific and general features of international man, society, and knowledge. The people who acquire specific international features can only do so at the expense of some of their personal, general human rights, until a greater effort is made to increase general international attitudes in Japan as a whole.

An inconsistency between the policy produced by the government and its practice is found in terms of promoting specific international features. In practice, human rights are both general and specific international features of man. Children acquire characteristics cultivated and formed in foreign countries, and specific international knowledge, that is foreign language, manners, and customs. These are important specific features. But they are unable to practice or retain these characteristics because they tend to be rejected in the school curricula and organisations in society as a whole.[88] On the other hand, the emphasis in school is on acquiring Japanese language and culture which is seen to be in accordance with personal development as a human right. Uniformity, obedience, and conformity are also promoted as traditional features of man. This

is a rejection of general international features of man and knowledge, as it in fact limits the free personal development of child returnees but it is also a rejection of general international features of man and society as the child returnees rapidly lose the specific international knowledge which they have. An inbalance in recognising and promoting foreign knowledge acquired by child returnees and Japanese knowledge which is not very familiar to these children, especially those who were educated in local schools for longer periods of time, is obvious. Accordingly, such child returnees face serious difficulties in adapting themselves to school life both in learning and mental attitude.[89]

A parallel might be drawn with the confusion in the Imperial Oath of Five Articles over the importance of the individuals rights, and the good of the nation.[90] Based on this Oath, education emphasised practicality for the development of economics and for nation building between 1868 and 1945.[91] Accordingly, the individuals' rights for personal development as an essential nature of education tended to be neglected. The rejection of the individuals' rights for personal development was again found after 1945 due to the double nature (traditional and modern) of Japanese man, knowledge, and society.[92] The individuals' rights for personal development were stipulated in the Fundamental Law of Education in the light of the Japanese Constitution. However, this study has shown that they tended to be neglected, because concrete laws resulted in a double nature of institutions.[93] Bureaucratic institutions are modern in their framework but they are based on personal authority which is traditional.

Accordingly, based on concrete laws, the uniform curricula were formulated in such institutions, and following these curricula teachers' freedom to promote individuals' needs was totally limited. This coincided with the emphasis on practicality for the development of economics and the individuals' development came to be disregarded. The case of education for children overseas and returnees once again demonstrated this tendency to play down individual rights to personal development. The amended Course of Study emphasised the individual development by creative, liberal, flexible, and enjoyable curricula, but individual development was always interpreted to mean an ability to fit in with more or less traditional aspects of Japanese society.[94] Child returnees were not given an education suited to the special circumstances of this background.

The rejection of human rights, as a crucial aspect of education, and in particular the misinterpretation of equality, seems to have produced prejudice against the education of children overseas and returnees. This education has been criticised on the grounds that it favoured these children. In the light of human rights and of the nature of education these children have the right to receive education according to their individual need, as has already been discussed. In this connection, it must be stressed that equality of human rights (to be educated for personal development) is a feature of the international norms, but equality of outcome is not.

The proposed solution to this problem has two aspects; firstly, the recognition of the rights of child returnees to an education suited to their personal develo pment, and secondly, the

introduction of an educational programme, for all Japanese, to increase awareness of the difficulties faced by, and the human rights of, those who serve the Japanese nation in the role of specific international men. To this end, solving the basic problem of children returnees should have priority.[95] Since bilingual education, initially given to child returnees who face most difficulties, has to accompany various reforms of educational and social institutions, the related educational problems, and various problems Japan faces in general and specific international society, would be solved eventually. This would eliminate the inconsistency between the policy on the education of children overseas and returnees and its practice. These children, in the light of human rights and of nature of education, could naturally become specific international men if they so chose and would contribute to specific international society.

From 1970, media interest in the problems of children overseas and returnees became intense and their problem became a subject of national concern so that Japanese residents abroad could concentrate upon their work without worrying about the education of their children.[96] Education of children overseas was conceived in the spirit of the Japanese Constitution, Article 26, which provides for an education which makes one suitable to be Japanese and to contribute to international exchange in education and culture while abroad.[97]

In 1976, the Ministry of Education formulated its Basic Policy for the education of children overseas, in which the Ministry

accepted financial and overall responsibility for improving material. It also acknowledged the need to establish additional secondary schools in Japan, specifically to ease the return of Japanese children re-entering the public school system. Finally, it initiated research into the problems of bilingualism.[98]

These measures went some way towards improving the situation. Overseas, the number of Japanese day schools increased from 26 in 1971 to 67 in 1980, and Supplementary education schools from 22 to 77.[99] Qualified Japanese teachers sent from Japan also increased in number. In Japanese day schools, the number of such teachers rose from 123 to almost 7000 and in Supplementary education schools from zero to 28, for the same period (1971-1980). In these latter schools, however, locally recruited teachers still outnumbered teachers from Japan by 6 to 1 (693:126). Standard Japanese textbooks were distributed free to all children of compulsory school age overseas. Also, since 1972, a system of correspondence education has been put into effect.

In Japan, the number of special schools providing additional instruction for child returnees similarly increased and by 1980 there were 89 schools, of which 70 were locally administered (public and private) and 19 were state run. [100] Also, 16 universities eased their entrance requirements for returnees. These numbers have increased since 1980. Other steps to ease the re-entry problems were 1) special entry examinations to secondary schools and universities, 2) the acceptance by designated secondary schools of foreign school qualifications, 3) the introduction of September admission, in addition to the normal April entrance time.

Certainly the increased provision of overseas education and improved flexibility of the receiving schools and universities has gone some way towards removing some of the basic obstacles these children meet but it is argued that this only represents a first step. A necessary subsequent step is the initiation of research on bilingualism which was part of the Basic Policy set out in 1976.[101] These studies have been restricted to investigating bilingualism in other countries and the process whereby the Japanese children living overseas have acquired the local language. The aim of these studies has primarily been to discover how best to reassert the primacy of Japanese language and cultural identity. Despite official national declarations concerning the desirability of becoming an internationally oriented society, the fact is that being 'un-Japanese' is still regarded as being undesirable.[102]

Children educated overseas are a new type of minority in Japanese society. Their ability to speak a foreign language and understand foreign customs and behaviour is not seen as an advantage in Japan. For example, teachers often dislike children whose English is different from the 'Japanese-English' which they themselves learned and now teach.[103]

Children who have acquired the informal ways of behaving abroad have difficulty in adapting to the more rigid expectations of classroom behaviour in Japan. Even in schools specially designated for their reception only one teacher, if that, is allocated to the task of helping them with their Japanese, and

those teachers are in general not bilingual and have no experience of living abroad. At the higher educational level foreign educational qualifications are still regarded as inferior.[104] Access to the high status universities in Japan is crucial for one's entire occupational life and children educated overseas are still at a disadvantage in competing for such places.

Government policy towards bilingualism reflects the basic ambivalence of the Japanese towards foreign influences. While noting the need for bilingual education, and offering experimental programmes for child returnees, the actual policy planned or carried out so far, has not tackled the central problem of the multicultural needs of the children themselves. Thus, the author of this thesis proposes a genuinely bilingual approach to the problem to satisfy the human rights of children overseas and child returnees.[105] On return to Japan there should be provision for a bilingual environment in the designated schools to act as a 'bridge' to the normal classes. In this environment the child's foreign behaviour and language ability would be catered for at a level suited to the individual child in flexible programmes. Children who were identified as having severe difficulties should have priority in this instruction.

A number of linked reforms in the fields of education and society should be implemented at the same tima as bilingual education, in order to reduce the conflict between educational measures and other societal influences.[106]

1 The aim of bilingual education should be primarily to solve children's difficulties in language and culture. It should

emphasise the individual's needs and contribute to the internationalisation of Japan, which would eventually follow.[107]

2 Laws and regulations should be abstract, as concrete laws and regulations would induce institutions to be responsive to personal authority.[108]

3 Modern bureaucratic institutions operated with the traditional personal authority tend to restrict the activity of man and knowledge, so that institutions should not be based on personal authority.[109]

4 The uniform curricula, then, could be more flexible for teachers to teach according to individual ability and needs without being restricted by institutions.[110]

5 English education should begin from the fifth grade in elementary school for all, on the grounds that this age (10) is appropriate for the learning of a foreign language.[111] In view of bilingual education theory, and the fact that children returnees of this age have in general more difficulties in adjusting themselves to different language and culture, child returnees would also benefit from this.[112] In this stage, English education could take the form of introductory conversation with educational materials and instruments, e.g. tapes, slides, music, games.[113]

6 Curricula in secondary schools should be reformed, with more specialised and elective subjects to suit individual needs.[114] This would reform entrance examinations for upper secondary schools and universities. Instead of re-educating graduates in individual institutions or the organisations where they are employed, they should have at least the knowledge or specialised skill for one occupation, when they graduate, so that they would be more interested in learning, useful at work, and prepared to

begin their work.[115] Required subjects of examinations in universities should be the group of related subjects leading to one's profession. Accordingly, a new student of the university could begin with his professional subjects and have time enough to master his profession.[116]

7 Curricula in elementary schools should include an intensive study project and field work and emphasise welfare education more by visits to appropriate institutions.[117]

8 Education received in foreign countries should be understood, especially by teachers receiving child returnees, and reasonably recognised in all levels of education. At present, nine years compulsory education, required for examination in upper secondary schools, are interpreted differently in each school. There should not be discrimination in this respect between the Japanese day school abroad and local schools. This has made children overseas and returnees more confused, and increased the difficulty of getting back to school in Japan.[118]

9 The present system of teacher training in Japan, for those who wish to specialise in English and overseas teaching, needs to include a more complex appreciation of foreign educational systems - by teaching comparative education - and conversation practice with English-speaking supervisors or audiovisual equipment as an essential, enforceable, part of a teacher' qualifications. The selection of overseas teachers should accord with the policy which emphasises international exchange.[119] Curricula and teaching methods need revision to take into account the overseas bilingual and multicultural experience of returnees. More use needs to be made of foreign natives living in Japan, qualified students abroad and wives of Japanese returning home, and more attention paid to the recruitment of overseas teachers, in

meeting the need for extra staff in these programmes.[120] A method of certification of teachers (of giving teachers certification) as bilingual teachers, English teachers, or teachers specialised in instructing child returnees, should be initiated through in-service training and provided for those who are graduates of junior college or university.[121]

10 It is preferable to increase boarding schools rather than to increase Japanese day schools abroad, on the grounds that, firstly, these day schools do not come under the Japanese law but the laws of the foreign country, secondly, an excessive dependence on these schools may seem to be a burden and threat to the education of the host country, and thirdly, Japanese day schools have tended to be isolated from both Japanese schools at home and local schools and the majority of these schools seem to fail in the fulfilment of international exchange.[122]

11 It would be ideal if the number of Japanese children attending local schools, Japanese day schools abroad, and boarding schools in Japan were equal. One should bear in mind that sending children to local schools means depending on foreign countries for education and finance.[123]

12 Parents should anticipate, upon leaving Japan, whether children are able to cope with foreign circumstances spiritually, physically, and intellectually and whether they wish to bring up their children to be specific or general international men in the future. At least, parents should be aware of the present policy and practice, and take the initiative to decide the direction of their children.[124]

7 Summary

Proposals by government and non-government bodies showed an intention to internationalise Japan by educating specific international men, who would be competent in the official languages (or foreign languages) of specific interenational society. For this purpose 'education for children overseas and returnees' was emphasised in most proposals. Attention has been given in the proposals to analyzing the nature of Japanese man, which has been identified as an obstacle to the internationalisation of Japan. However, a distinction between specific and general international features was not made at all. This has led to a lack of clarity in the way in which problems of internationalisation have been seen, and proposals of the above organisations are confused. Little attention has been given to overall international knowledge. The implication has been that Japan's problems are entirely in the area of specific internationalisation, which the analysis offered in this thesis indicates is a false conclusion.

In the argument regarding the aims of education, the same kind of practice in education between 1868 and 1945 was found in the present educational practice, that is, education tends to serve the state. Education for personal fulfilment has been almost completely ignored.

The alternative recommendation is that bilingual education would be effective in achieving for three purposes; to solve the basic difficulty of child returnees, to contribute to the state as a consequence, and to reform the educational system and other

organisations or institutions in terms of their closed natures.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In this thesis a problem has been identified in Japan arising from the changes which have taken place in internationalisation while there have been few changes in the traditional attitudes, particularly in the area of human relations.[1] The repercussions of this problem for children who spend some of their childhood overseas with their parents have been a central concern in this thesis. But the problem has much broader implications for Japan as a whole. Indeed, public debate in many spheres suggests that it is now widely recognised that Japan faces problems,[2] but that these problems have not been carefully analysed.[3]

Using traditional human relationships, Japan has been able to build up her economy to the point where she now has the second largest economy in the world. This is a notable success, all the more remarkable because of Japan's lack of natural resources. In order to achieve this success traditional atitudes, particularly an unwillingness among the majority of Japanese people to buy foreign products, have played a major part. The process of increasing international trade has gone hand in hand with a reliance on traditional attitudes.

In the period of the Restoration of the Meiji, the Shinto ethic of personal subordination to a person in authority was used as a major instrument to develop the power and authority of the Emperor.[4] The position of the Emperor as a personal authority required him to be seen as a superior being, above, for example, subordination to external power. This could also be interpretted

as meaning that Japan as a whole should not be subordinated to external power, as the Emperor was seen as a personification of the whole country.

The traditional attitudes of Shintoism, the subordination of individuals to the perceived needs of the country, were utilised to ensure that Japan would not be dominated either politically or economically by outside powers. This led to a major effort to modernise Japan in the period after 1868, by incorporating Western European and North American knowledge and institutions.[5] Traditional attitudes facilitated some aspects of modernisation.

Similar processes have continued to the present day, and contributed to the modernisation of Japan's legal and economic institutions. Economic success, combined with the difficulty which Japan's trading partners have encountered in competing effectively in the Japanese market, have created considerable disquiet in international economic circles.[6]

The persistence of various forms of patronage and certain attitudes in international dealings, for example a resistance to the practice of adopting loans from foreign investors, can all be seen as evidence for the persistence of traditional 'mental states'.[7] In all cases personal development and freedom were viewed as secondary to the advancement of the family, the business enterprise, and ultimately the country.[8]

Recent statements by Japanese politicians indicate that the response of Japan's economic partners is now perceived as a

problem in Japan too. However, the response of politicians to this question shows that they have not perceived that the underlying problem is one of the persistence of traditional attitudes. On the contrary, it suggests that the strengthening of those traditional attitudes can be used to solve what is perceived as a short term problem. Leading politicians have made suggested, on the basis of their own personal authority, that the Japanese people should, "for the good of the nation", make a special effort to ensure that they appreciate, and therefore buy, imported goods.[9] The fact that such solutions rely very heavily on certain traditional elements should be clear.

In international political life, particularly in the United Nations, Japan also looks for solutions which draw heavily upon traditional attitudes. While politicians have been ready to acknowledge that Japan's position in the international community is problematic, they have stressed technical solutions, such as the inclusion of Japanese among the official languages, greater participation of Japanese experts, or permanent membership of the Security Council.[10] The problem is thus perceived as a technical one, of Japan not finding the correct position within a traditional hierarchy of authority, rather than a more radical questioning of those traditional patterns of authority.

Above all, internationalisation has been viewed as a problem of technical competence on the part of international civil servants. In the circumstances of increased international contacts, the shortage of people with the skills to advance the national interest has been viewed as a problem. The persistence of 'mental states' concerning human relationships, however, meant that

international civil servants and businessmen were expected to make personal sacrifices in the cause of representing their country.[11] As a result of this, and as a result of a failure to pursue the study of different cultural values in terms of human relationships, international civil servants and businessmen have found themselves in situations in international society for which they were ill prepared. This has not only affected the individuals themselves but also their families.

Educationists and politicians in Japan have recognised that there is an educational problem with regard to the preparation of people to take part in international life. Again this has been seen as a technicality, of providing more specialists in language, international law or international administration. It has not been seen as a question of increasing general international attitudes so that more people will wish to, and be happy to, take part in processes of international cooperation.[12] On the contrary, where general attitudes are depended upon, these are more likely to be attitudes of dedication and self-sacrifice for the good of the nation.

The families of international civil servants and businessmen who have been educated overseas face difficulties on returning to Japan. To the extent that they have acquired foreign manners or characteristics, they have difficulty being accepted in Japan. On the other hand, because of their technical competence in foreign languages or knowledge of other cultures, they may be seen as a valuable resource for Japan in terms of the future need for skilled international manpower.[13] This attitude of treating them

as potential future technicians for Japan, not only fails to appreciate their need for treatment which is adapted to their own personal development, but also assumes that they hold traditional Japanese views of their own place in Japanese society. If they have been educated abroad for a considerable period they may well have acquired certain attitudes which are different from the traditional Japanese ones, and may therefore face considerable difficulties in reconciling the conflicting values which they confront.

This problem of catering for children who have spent a substantial period of time overseas and who have difficulty adjusting to traditional views of human relationships in Japan has aroused considerable interest in Japan, and has stimulated a large amount of discussion.[14] It was noted that there was considerable confusion in the current debates in Japan over the aims of internationalisation.[15] In addition there has been a tendency to treat such child returnees as separate from the mainstream of the Japanese educational system, thus exacerbating their "foreignness".[16]

Education has so far failed to produce sufficient modern or "international" men who can deal with such complicated and inconsistent situations.[17] Bilingual education is recommended as a better solution to the problem of internationalisation of Japan.[18] This notion, which was outlined in Chapter VI, focuses on the needs of the individuals rather than on the needs of the state, and offers some hope of eliminating some of the excesses of the traditional 'mental states'.[19] In this way the reform of the education system might lead to the education of more

"international men", and ultimately to the further development of the society as a whole.

Current debates on education indicate that traditional solutions are still being sought to the problem of internationalisation of education in Japan, and that that problem has not been sufficiently analysed. The Special Council on Education was formed in August 1984 at the Prime Minister's request to formulate proposals on the "basic measures necessary for the reform of each area of education to cope with social changes and the development of culture" in Japan.[20] Public concern has been expressed at the traditional way in which the Council was convened, and also with the way the committee has compromised over certain principles of educational reform, particularly "educational liberalisation".[21]

In order to reflect public opinion, the Council invited representations from various organisations and individuals, as well as holding public meetings. The deliberations of the Council have been fully publicised in Letters of the Council.[22] In spite of this, there is a widespread feeling that the Council will not promote satisfactory reform.[23] This feeling has also been reflected in the fact that private study groups have flourished. These have included the Study Committee on Educational Reform of the Japan Teachers' Association, the Study Meeting on Educational Problems promoted by academics and writers, and the Women's Educational Council.[24] Public concern has been expressed over a number of issues which are perceived as important educational problems, including truancy, violence, misconduct and bullying.

In the case of bullying, the Police Department, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Justice have been obliged to take practical action.[25]

The deliberations of the Council were published in The First Report of the Special Council on Education in June 1985. Although one of the major considerations of the Council at the outset was to be the "liberalisation of education", the Report deals with "Individualism" rather than "liberalisation".[26] The proposals put forward by the Council can be seen as a compromise between liberalisation and maintaining the traditional control of the education system.

The Report identified a number of shortcomings of the educational system, such as uniformity, stiffness, closedness, lack of international perspective and failure to recognise individuality, as leading to the problems of bullying, violence and misconduct, but the proposed reforms were vague, amounting to "taking a serious view of individuality" in the light of the Fundamental Law on Education. Certain traditional features are also to be found in the proposals, even though these only have the status of themes which should be looked into over the next three years.[27] To this extent the Report resembles the Imperial Oath of Five Articles in incorporating traditional and modern features.[28]

The Report does include some opinions which are consistent with the views of the author of this thesis, including the view that specific international knowledge has been stressed at the expense of general international knowledge. This found expression in the view that the educational system was excessively dominated by the

demands of future careers, and that this arose not only within the educational system, but also "from the social customs and mode of behaviour of the people".[29] However, confusion over the basic direction for educational reform, and the traditional way in which the Council was constituted, shows that the analysis of educational problems has been insufficient.

These examples demonstrate that although it is widely recognised that Japan has a number of problems in the field of internationalisation, these problems are not seen as linked. Nor are they seen as arising from the retention of any traditional attitudes.[30] In fact, where traditional attitudes are discussed, the implication is that greater attention on the part of individuals to the good of the nation would solve the problem. That is to say, as generally perceived, it is the weaken ing of traditional attitudes which is seen as producing the problems.

Looking to the future, one can predict that effective solutions will not be applied, since the crux of the problem has not been clearly identified. One can therefore expect that Japan will face a series of problems associated with internationalisation over the next decade or two. Short term solutions to those problems will be produced, which address the technical aspects of the problems but make no major attempt to re-evaluate traditional attitudes.

From the point of view of predicting the future, it is important to anticipate whether this series of problems associated with internationalisation will become more severe, less severe, or

remain much the same as they are at the moment. Taking the analysis offered in this thesis, it should be clear that the problems will become more severe. First it should be noted that the indicators chosen for measuring international participation, numbers of treaties, numbers of travellers, quantity of foreign trade and so on, seem to be increasing ever more rapidly. Secondly, there is no corresponding increase in change of traditional attitudes. Indeed, such solutions as are applied to the immediate problems of internationalisation at the moment will tend to harden traditional attitudes rather than the opposite.

The general conclusion must therefore be that the problems which Japan faces on account of her increasing internationalisation will increase over the next decade. The only reason for supposing that this will not happen is that the increase of foreign travel may itself, over a period of time, have the effect of changing attitudes to traditional authority. Such a view would appear to be over-optimistic, as the present study has shown that there has been very little movement in that direction in the recent past.

It therefore seems unlikely that any successful solution to the present problems is possible before a considerable amount of re-education has taken place. This is one of the reasons why an educational solution of increasing the level of general international atitudes through a programme of bilingual education is particularly attractive. It would prepare the ground for a more comprehensive solution to Japanese problems of internationalisation at a later date while also contributing to the stock of specific international men with general international attitudes. In this way it would alleviate the short

term problems at the same time as contributing to a longer term solution.

Finally, the only question which needs to ba anticipated is whether bilingual education could be seen as an acceptable solution by those educationists who would need to adopt it. There seem to be good reasons for supposing that the persistence of traditional attitudes mean that at present it could not. However, there are two features of the current situation which suggest that bilingual education for child returnees from overseas could be seen as an acceptable solution in the near future.

In the first place, bilingual education addresses one of the short term and technical problems which is currently exercising members of the educational establishment. It would provide skilled and knowledgeable specific international men for the administration of international affairs.

A second consideration is that the parents of child returnees are people with considerable status and power, either within government bureaucracies or within business organisations. They are also people who have had considerable personal exposure to foreign ways of living. It is unlikely that such a group of parents will be satisfied for long with their children performing consistently below average in the national educational system of Japan.

For these reasons, it can be anticipated that in the near future bilingual education for child returnees may well become a

feasible policy solution to the immediate problems if internationalisation which Japan faces. If, at that time, it is chosen as a solution, it will also make a major contribution to the preparation of an atmosphere in which a more general solution, the improved modern and international education of all children, can be contemplated.

If the opportunity to improve international education is not taken, the only possible prospect is that Japan will face persistent crises in the area of internationalisation, and that these crises will be of increasing severity.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER ONE

1 Ministry of Education, International Exchange in Education, Arts and Science, and Culture - Report of the Central Council for Education, Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau, 1974, p.3. Problems to internationalisation in general were stated as frictions or tension between Japan and other countries. Problems of Japanese children accompanying experts overseas were stated in general. See also, M.Kamijo, Planning Bilingual Education : A Comparative Study, Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, University of London Institute of Education, 1981, and Chapter VI of this thesis.

2 Ibid., p.5.

3 M.Kamijo, Planning Bilingual Education in Japan: A Comparative Study, op.cit., pp.69-102.

4 The Centre for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, "Child returnees and Bilingual Education", in Symposium Considering Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: Shimizu Printing Office, 1979, p.150.

5 K.Kishimoto, Politics in Modern Japan: Development and Organisation, Tokyo: Echo Inc., 1977, pp.10-29. The process of internationalisation through modernisation can be traced in Japanese politics since the time of the Meiji restoration.

6 M.Aso and I.Imano, Education and Japan's Modernisation, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1978, reprinted by the Japanese Information Centre, Embassy of Japan, London, 1978, p.24. Such ideas of education were prescribed in the Fundamental Code of Education of 1872 and the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890.

7 H.Kida, "Progress of Internationalisation and Education of Children", in The Monthly Journal of The Ministry of Education, December 1980, No.1243, Tokyo: Gyosei, p.7. Also T.Kobayashi, "On the Theme of the Education of Child Returnees", ibid., pp.31-33.

8 Article 38, the Statute of International Court of Justice. Charter of the United Nations and details of organisation of the United Nations taken from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Treaties, Collection of the Principal Treaties, Tokyo: Gyosei, 1972, pp.403-459.

9 H.Hasegawa (ed.), Basic Knowledge of Contemporary Terminology, Tokyo: Jiyukokuminsha, 1981, p.453.

10 T.Yamamoto, The Study of Japanese History, Tokyo: Ohbunsha, 1974, pp.383 & 390.

11 Ibid., pp.391,412 & 435.

12 Ibid., p.415.

13 The number of countries participating in the Versaille Treaty was 27.

14 Count S.Ohkuma, Fifty Years of New Japan: Vol.1, London: Smith Elder & Co., 1909, p.75. T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.347.

15 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol.1, op.cit., p.102. T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.102.

16 S.Tabata & Y.Ishimoto (ed.), International Law, Tokyo: Yushindo, 1980, pp.168 & 172. Within one's own territory the same treatment given to people of that country is also given to people of the other country (third country); this is called the nation treatment. The regulation of the treaty which regulates such treatment is a national treatment clause. The most favoured-nation clause is categorised into three forms. 1. Simple clause, in which one country accords most favoured nation status to another. An example is the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded with five countries in 1857. 2. Clause with terms is the state that most favoured-nation clause is given reciprocally, but the precise conditions in which it is to apply are specified in the treaty. An example is the Japan-USA Treaty of commerce and Navigation (1911). 3. Clause without terms is also reciprocal, but the precise conditions in which it is to apply are not specified in the treaty. Examples are the Japan-USA Treaty of Peace and commerce (1953) and the Japan-Anglo Treaty of Peace and commerce (1963).

17 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol.1. op.cit., pp.311-314.

18 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Treaties, op.cit., pp.1-30 & 756-760.

19 Ibid., pp.31-48, 49-54, & 373-380.

20 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Treaties, op.cit., p.41.

21 H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.424.

22 Ibid., p.242.

23 Ibid., p.421. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Treaties, op.cit., p.458, Article 111, the UN Charter.

24 H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., pp.315,323, 424-426, & 888.

25 Ibid., pp.196-197.

26 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Administration Office, The Collection of Laws and Ordinances Related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No.52, Tokyo: Daiichihoki, 1977, p.353.

27 Ibid., pp.67-96. According to the Personnel Strength Law, as of 1977, the number of regular staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was 3,225 (2,510 in 1964), of which diplomats overseas were 1,703. In addition to diplomats from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs diplomats from other ministries are such as the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of Labour, the Autonomy Agency, the Ministry of Education, the Environment Agency (established in 1971), the Defence Agency (established in 1954 in place of the National Safety Agency), the Ministry of Postal Services, the Imperial Housenold Agency (from May, 1983, for His Imperial Highness to study in Oxford University).

28 H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.443.

29 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ASEAN and JAPAN, Partners for Peace & Prosperity, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1981, p.4.

30 H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.418.

31 Ibid., pp.444-452.

32 Ibid., pp.442 & 445.

33 Ibid., pp.104 & 109.

34 B.Holmes, Comparative Education: Some Considerations of Method, op.cit., pp.97-99.

35 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Treaties, op.cit., pp.601-602, Preamble of the GATT.

36 Ibid., pp.601-714.

37 The Japanese Constitution of 1946, Articles 97-99.

38 Article 26, The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade prescribed that official languages of the GATT are English and French.

39 M.Hiratsuka et.al. (ed.), Encyclopedia of World Education, Tokyo: Gyosei, pp.486-490. H.Kida, op.cit., pp.212-216.

40 M.Hiratsuka et.al. (ed.), op.cit., pp.297 & 489.

41 Ibid., pp.488 & 489.

42 Ibid., pp.130 & 489.

43 Ibid., p.45.

44 Count S.Ohkuma, Fifty Years of New Japan: Vol.2, London: Smith Elder & Co., 1909, p.459.

45 See Chapters IV and V of this thesis.

46 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol.2, p.28.

47 Ibid., pp.22-41, 65, 67, & 77.

48 Ibid., p.39.

49 N.Kanayama, An Introduction to International Adaptology: A Sense of Superiority and Inferiority of Japanese, Tokyo: Saimaru Press, pp.170.182, & 206.

50 Ibid., pp.207 & 210.

51 See Chapter I, Section 2 in this thesis.

52 Ministry of Transportation & Japan National Tourist Organisation, Tourism in Japan, Tokyo: Ministry of Transportation, pp.8 & 10-11. As of 1980, the number of Japanese travellers in business and others accounted 13.5%(527,759) of the total Japanese travellers abroad (1,909,333). Whereas, foreign travellers in business and others accounted 436,630 of the total foreign travellers in Japan (1,316,632). K.Kawamura (ed.), Facts and Figures of Japan, Tokyo: Foreign Press Centre, pp.47 - 49. Trends in Japan's current balance of payments show on the whole that the trade balance registered a large surplus between 1971 and 1981 ($4,729 million in 1981). The European Economic Community and the United States called for Japan to narrow the trade gap by increasing its imports, especially those of agricultural products, and putting voluntary restraints on exports. However, the trends in Japan's overall balance of payments show on the whole a deficit. ($2,144 million in 1981) The balance on the total exports and imports show minus $10,721 million in 1980. Thus, inbalance of exporting items were located in machine products such as ships, automobiles, and radios accounting for more than 60% of the total.

53 Ministry of Education, International Exchange in Education Arts and Science, and Culture - Report of the Central Council for Education, Op.cit.

54 Ibid., pp.57-58.

55 See Chapter VI, Section 2 in this thesis.

56 See Chapter VI, Section 2 in this thesis.

57 Ministry of Education The Educational Standard of Japan, Tokyo: The Ministry of Finance Printing Office, 1980, p.217.

58 Ibid., p.219.

59 Ibid., p.219

60 Ibid., p.219.

61 Ibid., p.222.

62 Ibid., p.222.

63 See Chapter VI, Section 2 in this thesis.

64 N.Kanayama, op.cit., pp.221 & 224.

65 H.Takasugi (ed)., An Emergence of New International Man: Particulars of the Symposium for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: The Mainichi Company, 1977, pp.23 & 63-64. The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, "Child Returnees and Bilingual Education", in Symposium Considering Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: Shimizu Printing Office, op.cit., p.149.

66 N.Kanayama, op.cit., pp.165-170. S.Kumon, Diplomacy and the International Society in the Twenty First Century, No.94 in the series National Diplomacy, Tokyo: The National Diplomacy Association, 1983. Economic friction is critisised as Japan's tendency towards Imperialism and economic nationalism. Although, it is possitive that Japan would not become the country based on imperialism nor economic nationalism, since Japan advocates pacifism prescribed in the Japanese constitution, Kumon emphasises the cultural friction is an important cause for economic friction and diplomatic negotiation. Foreigners compel Japan to change Japanese actions and systems, for which Japanese may repel such demands.

67 S.Yamazaki (ed.), Declaration of the Major International School: An Idea from Stop Out, Tokyo: Japan Recruit Centre Press, 1982, p.68.

68 Ibid., p.6.

69 N.Kanayama, op.cit., pp.16,22, & 111.

70 Environmental Agency, Quality of the Environment in Japan, Tokyo: Environmental Agengy, 1981,p.2. Environmental Agency, Japan Environment Summary (1973-1982), Tokyo: Environmental Agency, 1983, p.1.

71 S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., pp.27 & 44.

72 Y.Aida, Issue on Men of Ability - Terms of Leaders, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976, pp.19 & 23-25. Aida emphasises leaders of Japan are those who try to open the door of the society with ideas and imagination and disregard inbalance e.g. being outsiders of the society. Ibid., pp.217-218, to see unfamiliar things in one's customary way and to deal with new and different ways and thought are different. Hence, he stresses that so called outsiders would fit as specific international men as leaders and attacks those uho are good at all subjects, but closed in nature.

73 Ministry of Transportation & Japan National Tourist Organisation, op.cit., pp.7-8 & 10-11. For instance in 1980, there were 3,909,333 Japanese travellers and 1,316,632 foreign travellers in Japan. The number of travellers included those for business, pleasure, diplomacy and

government business, research and study, and others.

74 N.Kanayama, op.cit., pp.198 & 200.

75 See Chapter I, Section 2.1 in this thesis.

76 See Chapter I, Section 2.2 in this thesis.

77 See Chapter I, Section 2.2. in this thesis.

78 See Chapter I, Section 2.2.2 in this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

1 M.Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, edited with an Introduction by T.Parsons, New York: The Free Press, 1947, pp.341-358 for Traditional Authority for the traditional model and pp.51-52 & 329-341 Legal Authority with a Bureaucratic Administrative Staff for the modern model. The international model is referred to the concepts of the UN Charter (society) supplemented by the Universal Human Rights (man), the Constitution of Unesco and the 1974 Unesco "Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relation to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms", quoted in M.Hiratsuka et.al. (eds.), Encyclopedia of World Education: Material Volume, Tokyo: Gyosei, 1980, pp.36-41 (knowledge).

2 M.Weber, op.cit., p.352. Groups of households or traditional organisations e.g. court, religious body, fief, coloni, military, and 'men's house'.

3 Ibid., p.342.

4 Ibid., pp.346-347. Traditional authority develops from **gerontocracy** to **patriarchalism** and **patrimonialism.** In the former two authorities, a personal administrative staff of the chief is absent. Authority is in the hands of 'elders' who are the most familiar with the sacred traditions of a group in geronotocracy. On the other hand, in patriarchalism, authority is exercised by a particular individual who is designated by a definite rule of inheritance and it is based on an economic or kinship character. Common characters in both cases are an absence of a personal administrative staff of the chief, and exercise of authority is a private prerogative of the person or persons involved but an authority is exercised on behalf of the group as a whole. **Patrimonialism** emerges with the development of a purely personal administrative staff under the control of the chief. Where absolute authority is maximized, it may be called **Sultanism.** Where authority is primarily oriented to tradition but in its exercise makes the claim of full personal powers, it will be called **patrimonial** authority. Where patrimonial authority lays primary stress on the sphere of arbitrary will free of

traditional limitations, it will be called sultanism. When, in a system of patrimonial authority, particular powers and the corresponding economic advantages have become appropriated, this will be called **decentralized** authority.

5 Ibid., p.341.

6 Ibid., p.341.

7 Ibid., p.342.

8 Ibid., p.341.

9 This is the case in patriarchalism.

10 These cases are patrimonial authority and sultanism.

11 Ibid., pp.351-352.

12 Ibid., p.353. It is the decentralized authority. Where traditional authority is decentralized through the appropriation of governing powers by privileged social groups, this may become a formal case of the separation of powers when organized groups of the members of such a privileged class participate in political or administrative decisions or measures regulating the administrative process.

13 Ibid., pp.356-357. Some cases are under decentralized authority.

14 Ibid., p.342. Such modes of recruitment emerge in patrimonial authority for a chief's administrative staff.

15 Ibid., p.352.

16 Ibid., pp.351-352.

17 Ibid., pp.344 & 348-349. Traditional rules changes with the way in which a chief increases his own 'personal rights'. When the government is divided between the chief and the different branches of the administrative staff, each on the basis of his own personal rights, these rights are to be regulated by special decrees of the chief or special compromises with the holders of appropriated rights.

18 Ibid., p.342.

19 Ibid., p.341.

20 Ibid., p.342. This is 'a double sphere'.

21 Ibid., p.342. Here, opposition is not directed against the system as such without 'abstract' law or administrative rules. Thus later opposition claims to have always been in force and the only documents which can play a part in the orientation of legal administration are the documents of tradition, namely precedents.

22 Ibid., p.353}

23 Ibid., pp.349-350. For instance, military and ritual knowledge for fiefs, colonial officers, army officers, artisans attached to court or to guild, peasants whose service have been attached for military or administrative purposes.

24 Ibid., pp.329-330. These rules are abstract.

25 Ibid., p.338. Without bureaucratic control, a society with a separation of officials, employees, and workers from ownership of the means of administration, dependent on discipline and on technical training, could no longer function. For example, in all fields - political, religious, and economic - small-scale organisations could escape the influence of bureaucratism, but in any kind of large-scale administration there would be an urgent need for stable, strict, intensive, and calculable administration.

26 Ibid., p.337. Hierarchy is based on individual's competence for his position in the office in accordance with rules. The whole pattern of every day life is cut to fit this framework of bureaucracy.

27 Ibid., pp.330 & 341.

28 Ibid., pp.330-332 &341. The idea of separation derives from that separation of the place in which official functions are carried out, the 'office' in the sense of premises, from living quarters and that members of the administrative staff do not themselves own the non-human means of production and administration.

29 Ibid., pp.329-330.

30 Ibid., pp.330-332.

31 Ibid., p.333.

32 Ibid., pp.333-334.

33 Ibid., p.342.

34 Ibid., p.342.

35 Ibid., p.334. Bureaucratic administration can be applied to a variety of organisations. The purely bureaucratic type of administrative organisation - that is the monocratic variety of bureaucracy - is, other things being equal, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings. Since bureaucracy is inevitable in modern society, the choice is only that between bureaucracy and dilletantism in the field of administration, ibid., 337.

36 Ibid., p.333.

37 Ibid., pp.333-334.

38 Ibid., pp.338-339. A capitalistic system has undeniably played a major role in the development of bureaucracy and without it capitalistic production could not continue and any rational type of socialism would have simply to take it over and increase its importance. Capitalism is the most rational economic basis for bureaucratic administration and enables it to develop in the most rational form, especially because, from a fiscal point of view, it supplies the necessary money resources.

39 Ibid., p.358. The principal forerunners of the modern, specifically Western, form of capitalism are to be found in the organized urban communes of Europe with their particular type of relatively rational administration.

40 Ibid., p.339. Communication and transportation - the services of the railway, the telegraph, and the telephone - with a capitalistic system inevitably need to develop the economy. The Meiji Restoration in Japan demonstrates the adoption of a capitalistic system with bureaucratic administration including such communication and transportation. Cf.Chapter IV of this thesis.

41 Ibid., p.339. Knowledge of an empirical character is referred to as special knowledge of facts acquired through the conduct of office and is an available a store of documentary material peculiar to the officials themselves, in particular, 'official secrets' and 'commercial secrets'. It stands in relation to technical knowledge in somewhat the same position as commercial secrets do to technological training. It is a product of the striving for power.

42 Ibid, p.339. The capitalistic entrepreneur is the only type who has been able to maintain at least relative immunity from subjection to the control of rational bureaucratic knowledge.

43 Ibid, p.335. In the same way as the capitalistic entrepreneur, the only 'offices' for which no technical qualifications are required are those of ministers and presidents.

44 Ibid, p.333.

45 G. Abi-Sabb edited, The Concept of International Organzisation, Paris: Unesco, 1981, pp.9-10.

46 Ibid.

47 For example, high qualifications of international officials are indicated in Article 101 of the UN charter as 'the highest standard of efficiency, competence, and intergrity'; of representatives of the Trusteeship Council being 'especially qualified person to represent it' in Article 86 of the UN Charter, and of international judges are to be 'persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are

jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.', in the Statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 2. Although, a specific requirement of international judges who are to fill vacant seats after the first meeting held for the purpose of the election of the judges is the eldest judge who shall have a casting vote in the event of a drawn vote among the judges, Article 12, the Statute of the International court of Justice. This requirement shows a traditional aspect (an eldest being the most primitive type of traditional authority, that is gerontocracy). See reference no.13, the authority in the Traditional Society, Chapter II, Section 1, of this thesis.

48 See "Authority in the Modern Society", Chapter II, Section 3.1, of this thesis.

49 Permanent members of the Security Council (the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kindgom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, Article 23, the UN Charter) are the original members which initiated the UN in order not to repeat such a war as the World War II. The Permanent Security Council holds the utlimate prerogative by veto on amendments of the UN Charter (Articles 108 & 109) which enable a country to become a member. Hence in practice, it makes it difficult for any country to become a member.

50 The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council and the staff of the Secretariat by the Secretary General under regulations established by the General Assembly are selected on the national base. (Articles 97 & 101, the UN Charter) They exercise authority as administrative officers of the Organization in all meetings of the principal organs of the UN and perform such other functions as are entrusted to them by these organs. (Article 98, the UN charter) However, decision making on special matters (see the reference no.61 below) depends upon the veto of the Security Council. The number of each of the principal organs of the UN and of sufferage of each member are prescribed in the UN Charter and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly consists of all the members of the UN, each member has not more than five representatives, and has one vote. The Security Council consists of fifteen members, each member has one vote with veto. The Economic and Social Council consists of twenty-seven members elected by the General Assembly, each member having one representative, and one vote. The Trusteeship Council consists of specified countries (Article 86-1), each having one representative, and one vote. The International Court of Justice consists of fifteen judges, not more than one from any country, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council and all questions are decided by a majority of the judges present, and the President or the judge who acts in his place has a casting vote. The Secretariat consists of the Secretary-General and staff (see reference no.56 above). The number of staff of the Secretariat are decided according to a national quota system. N.Kanayama, An Introduction to International Adaptology: A Sense of Superiority and Inferiority of

Japanese, Tokyo: Saimaru Press, 1971, p.212.

51 M.Weber, op.cit., p.337. In the monocratic type of bureaucratic administration, it is stated, 'However many forms there may be which do not appear to fit this pattern, such as collegial representative bodies, **parliamentary committees**, soviet, honorary officers, lay judges, and what not..'.

52 The Security Council, in particular the Permanent Security Council, holds the ultimate prerogative by veto on a country becoming a member of the UN (Article 4, the UN Charter), the suspension from the exercise of rights and privileges of membership (Article 5, the UN Charter), important decisions (Article 24, the UN Charter) by specific powers (Chapters VI,VII,VIII,& X11), and Amendments of the UN Charter (Articles 108 & 109).

53 Article 4, the UN Charter.
Article 2, the UN Charter stresses that the Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.
Article 11, the UN Charter prescribes this possibility as 'The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the UN... in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and except as provided in Article 12... '.

54 Participation in the principal and subsidiary organs of the UN is based on equality of men and women. (Article 8, the UN charter) International civil servants who are employed locally follow the recruitment procedure based on the modern model, except regarding immunities (Article 19, the Statute of International Court of Justice). Such immunities apply to international experts of international organs as well international civil servants.

55 See reference no.50 above.

56 Article 17, the UN Charter. Whether they are remunerated directly by the Secretariat or member countries for their representatives, remuneration follows the modern bureaucratic system. As for the budget of the principal organs of the UN, it is considered and approved by the General Assembly; the expense of the Organization is borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly; and the General Assembly considers and approves any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies (Article 57, the UN Charter) and examine the administrative budgets of the specialized agencies. (Articles 17, the UN Charter)

57 International features such as strictly independent international officers who persue their duty for ideas of peace and security and are not attached to their own nation. Article 100, the UN Charter, and Articles 16 & 17, the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

58 International laws are prescribed in Article 38, the UN Charter as follows. a) international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states; b) international customs, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law; c) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; d) subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law. See Introduction, Chapter VI of this thesis, for definition of treaties.

59 Specific knowledge is identified from the UN Charter, the Unesco Constitution, the Unesco Redommendation of 1974, recommendations, resolutions, reports of the UN, IBE, OECD, ILO, and the UN Programmes.

60 See reference nos.26 & 28 for knowledge on new science, reference no.24 for official languages.

61 "The Unesco Recommendation of 1974", in M.Hiratsuka, et al., (eds.), Encyclopedia of World Education: Material Volume, op.cit..

CHAPTER THREE

1 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol.1, p.142.

2 Both the Imperial Oath of Five Articles of 1868 and the Japanese Constitution of 1946 were introduced with the intention of establishing modern normative views of society.

3 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., 1974, p.74.

4 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.141-142.

5 Ibid., p.358.

6 Ibid., pp.357-358.

7 A.Tanaka, The Iwakura Mission Abroad - North America and Europe in the Meiji Restoration, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981, p.14.

8 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol.1, p.142.

9 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.358.

10 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol 1, p.141.

11 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.358.

12 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol 1, p.141.

13 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.359.

14 Ibid., p.359.

15 Ibid., p.358. Giji consists of prince, court peers, nobles and feudal lords; sanyo of peers, and choshi, clansmen and commoners.

16 Ibid., p.359.

17 A.Tanaka, op.cit., p.105. For example, the monthly salary of the special envoy to the Mission was $500 in 1871.

18 See "Authority in the Traditional Society", Chapter II, Section 2, in this thesis.

19 M.Weber, op.cit., pp.52 & 357.

20 The Imperial Oath of Five Articles, Article 3, prescribed the behaviour of the ideal man.

21 M.Weber, op.cit., p.330.

22 S.Wagatsuma (ed.), The Statute Book, Tokyo: Yugaikaku, 1973, p.43. The relation of a chief and subjects is stated in the Meiji Constitution, Chapter II.

23 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.400.

24 Ibid., p.400.

25 Ibid., p.359. The major issue was the Seitaisho, Proclamation on Written Institutes of Government in 1868.

26 T. Yamamoto, op.cit., p.400. Education was to be carried out in accordance with gakusei, the Education Law of 1872 and the Ordinance of Stimulating Learning, issued by the Ministry of Education.

27 S.Nagata (ed.), History of Japanese Education, Tokyo: Ochanomizushobo, 1979, pp.151-157.

28 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., History of Japanese Education 2, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973, pp.162-200.

29 S.Wagatsuma, op.cit., pp.35 & 42. See Preamble and Article 98, the Japanese Constitution of 1946.

30 See the "Ideal Modern Society", Chapter II, Section 2, of this thesis.

31 S.Wagatsuma, op.cit., pp.35-42. Articles and Chapters in brackets in this Section are stated in the Japanese Constitution of 1946.

32 S.Wagatsuma, op.cit., pp.192-206 for the National Public Service Law and pp. 408-414 for the Local Public Service Law.

33 Ibid., pp.36, 197-198 & 410.

34 Ibid., p.195, for the National Public Service Law, p.410, for the Local Public Service Law, pp.81-144 for the Law on Diet, pp.143-184 for the Law on Courts, pp.185-464 for the Law on Aaministrative Organisation, pp.465-934 for the Law on Finance, pp.935-1056 for the Law on Police and Defence, pp.1057-1242 for the Law on Land, pp.1243-1300 for the Law on Environmental Preservation, and pp.1301-1338 for the Law on Education.

35 Ibid., pp.81-1338.

36 Ibid., pp.2263-2275.

37 See reference no.34 of this Chapter.

38 S.Wagatsuma, op.cit., pp.200-202, 410-411.

39 Article 15, The Japanese Constitution of 1946.

40 M.Weber, op.cit., p.330. Weber's term of modernity specified 'every body of law consists essentially in a consistent system of abstract rules..' instead of concrete rules. Weber again, p.337, indicates that there is the choice between **bureaucracy** and **dilletantism** in the field of administration with abstract rules.

41 With reference to reference no.40 above, according to Weber there is still a possibility that an appearance of traditional features of man could be decreased within a double sphere in references to a double sphere of the traditional man, who can increase his own rights of personal prerogatives towards the modern man.

42 Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, Tokyo: Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, 1977, p.15. Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Elementary School, Tokyo: Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, 1977, p.25.

43 Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., p.117. Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Elementary School, op.cit., p.101.

44 Ministry of Education, The Image of the Ideal Japanese, Tokyo: Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, 1972, pp.19-40.

45 Ibid., pp.10 & 39. Traditional features may derive not from the context of The Image of the Ideal Japanese itself but an implication of the traditional man in the period from the Meiji up to 1945 which is emphasised as Japanese, and played an important role for establishing a modern Japan, which was Imperial modern Japan. It is suggested that new ideas adopted after 1945 tended to ignore the history of Japan and Japanese characteristics. Since there was no clear explanation about Japanese characteristics which served for establishing the modern Imperial Japan and that of the modern Japan after 1945, people on the whole tended to

relate The Image of thes Ideal Japanese to the traditional Japanese up to 1945.

46 Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Elementary School, Tokyo: Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, 1977, p.1. Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, Tokyo: Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, 1977, p.1.

47 Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Elementary School, op.cit., for "Detailed Regulations for the Enforcement of the School Education Law, Article 24". Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., for "Detailed Regulations for the Enforcement of the School Education Law, Article 53".

48 Ministry of Education Course of Study for Elementary School, op.cit. pp.25-32. Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., pp.15-32.

49 Ministry of Educatopm Course of Study for Elementary School, op.cit., pp.101-106, Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., pp.117-120.

50 Ministry of Education, Development of Education in Japan, 1976-1978, Report Presented at the 37th International Conference on Education, Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1979,pp.3-5.

51 S.Wagatsuma (ed.), op.cit., p.195 for Article 33, p.196 for Article 37 and p.198 for Chapter 5.

52 Ibid., pp.195-196, Articles 33,42-45, Examination.

CHAPTER FOUR

1 K.Aoki et.al., History of Japan, Tokyo: Gakuyoshobo, 1977, pp.138-146.

2 Ibid., pp.138-159.

3 K.Kishimoto, op.cit., p.16. The nineteenth Prime Minister Takashi Kara of the Seiyukai political party was the first 'commoner politician' who, unlike the earlier oligarchy, came from the old han which turned against the Royalists during the pre-restoration 'Boshin Civil War'. His was the first genuine party Cabinet in which ministerial positions were filled by members of the Seiyukai, with the exception of the Ministries of the Military and of Foreign Affairs.

4 Ibid., p.17. The genro, or elder statesmen, were almost all former prime ministers, and, with the exception of K.Saionji, were from the old Satsuma and Choshu han. Although without consideration or other official standing, they acted as advisors to the Emperor and exerted considerable influence on government decisions, participating in Cabinet meetings and conferences in the

presence of the Emperor. Their role was particularly important in connection with the appointment of prime ministers, since their recommendations to the Emperor were in practice decisive.

5 At the first stage, political institutions were at least established. At the second stage, major modern fetures were fully applied in the polity. In the last stage, withdrawing from the League of Nations and then political authority having been taken over by the military autocracy changed the modern polity to the traditional authority.

6 K.Aoki et.al., op.cit., pp. 183-185.

7 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.358-378.

8 Ibid., pp.358-378.

9 Ibid., p.358. Giseikan, Diet; Gyoseikan, Administrative Bureau; Shingikan, Shinto Bureau; Kaikeikan, Accounting Bureau; Gunmukan, Military Bureau; Gaikokukan, Foreign Bureau; Keihokan, Bureau of the Criminal Law Courts. All bureaux belonged to the Cabinet and the Bureau of the Criminal Law Court.

10 Ibid., p.377.

11 Ibid., p.373. The Liberal party was created by T.Itagaki and members of the Kokkaikiseidomei, an association.

12 Ibid., p.419.

13 S.Wagatsuma (ed.), op.cit., p.43. T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp 372 & 419 cited the way in which the government exercised the traditional authority. In particular, government suppressed the 'movement of liberty and people's rights' by 'Rules on Articles of the Newspapers' of 1875, which imprisoned persons who wrote an article about overturning the state by changing the government; 'Regulations on persons who claim negligence on the part of officials or activities by the public press' in 1875; 'Rules on Assembly' which stated that permission was required for assembly for political discussion, in 1880; and 'Law of the Maintenance of the Public Peace',which was to punish persons who organised groups aiming at changing the state polity or neglecting the system of the private property. This last law later suppressed the ideal of liberty and was utilised to promote fascism in Japan. Under these laws two hundred people were punished between 1875 and 1880.

14 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.360. Peers sided with the Emperor. Clansmen of the powerful feudal lords, e.g. Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa, and Higo, came to hold places in the central government and held political power.

15 Ibid., p.358. Feudal lords were appointed as the governor in their own han, feudal domain, in 1868 and the same governors held their position when the name han was changed to ken, or prefecture. This maintained the traditional relationships.

16 Article 3 of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles stated that people should be able '..to realise their own aspirations and to evince their active characteristics'; see Chapter III, Section 1, of this thesis. S.Nagata, op.cit., p.163 stresses that the government order of 1872 was based on equality among four classes, equal opportunity in education, and individualism. People being 'subject' is prescribed in the Meiji Constitution.

17 K.Kishimoto, op.cit., p.11.

18 Ibid., p.10. In October 1635, the Tokugawa Shogunate issued an Ordinance 'to close the country's door' to the rest of the world.

19 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.346-347.

20 Ibid., p.382.

21 K.Kishimoto, op.cit., p.10. It was closed for foreign countries, non-privileged people of agricultural, industrial, and commercial classes. K.Aoki et.al., op.cit., pp.139-143, cited that Japan closed her country to the outside from 1641, but that Holland and China were given permission for trading business with Japan together with Korea and Ryuku.

22 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.303,306.307, & 351. Wealthy business enterprises such as Mitsuigumi and Ohigumi were given special privileges on business for the Tokugawa, Higasakaisen-tonyanakama, a business corporation among business enterprises was admitted and they contributed money and business articles to the Tokugawa. K.Aoki et.al., op.cit., p.139, stated that these privileged businesses received shuinjo, Tokugawa's credential letter for importation goods from the Philippines and Asian countries, for thirty years until the policy of closing the country, but it still continued after the closing of Japan. Such a bribery was prohibited as a rule by most Tokugawas. T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.294, states that daimyo, feudal lords, controlled commercial goods within their own domain.

23 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol 1., pp.465-466.

24 Knowledge of modern economics is referred to economic organisations with the bureaucratic management, capitalistic system, and knowledge of modern industrial technology including machines and materials.

25 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.393 & 394.

26 Ibid., p.394.

27 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol 1., p.471.

28 Ibid., pp.390-620.

29 It is according to the traditional model, Chapter II,

Section 2, of this thesis.

30 The traditional model indicated that modernity was predominantly found in the Western countries.

31 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol 1., p.544.

32 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol 1., p.546. Based on Western and American models, government initiated joint-stock companies firstly banks, and then companies connected with shipping, railways, insurance, and various other companies followed. P.466. The pioneer companies of Tussho kaisha, commercial companies and Kawase kaisha, exchange companies, as organs of institutions were orgnised in Business Bureau in 1868 and then the Commerical Bureau in 1869. However, they ended in failure. P.545. The first National Bank was established modelled on the National Bank of the USA in 1873 and the Bank of Japan as a Central Bank was orgnised modelled mainly after the Bank of Belgium, although much reference and consideration was given to the central banks in other European countries and the customs and conditions in Japan. Government also adopted Western and American system for the gold standard for payment in trade in 1889 and the system of credit mobilier for the benefit of new enterprises. Most of these companies were disposed of by the government to private companies under the government's protection and special privileges.

33 Count S.Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol 1., p.543. Such model factories were Tomioka Silk Filature and Shinmachi West Silk Spinning Mill.

34 Ibid., p.544. The Great Exposition in Viena in 1873 and in North America in 1876 overseas and the Ueno Exposition in Tokyo, in 1877 were held.

35 Ibid., p470. In connection with reference no.32, the government's initiative was inevitable. Hence, the Department of Finance published two guiding books for initiating companies. One was the explanation about corporations and the other was rules for organising corporations in 1870-1871 to make people understand the general principles of corporations. Also p.470, Baron Y. Shibusawa, President of the First National Bank, stressed the needs and expansion of joint-stock companies on a private basis in a "Representation to the Government" saying, 'At the Present time, the people in Europe and America, are studying practical sciences and equipping themselves with important knowledge. They regard it as a great dishonour not to be able to earn a living by ability and industry...If by means of joint-stock companies we can secure the prosperity of production and trade, we may thereby expect to promote the wealth and power of a nation.'

36 Ibid., pp.421-422. Besides, the engineering portion of the telegraph and telephone services was especially difficult in urban districts, because the streets of the cities and towns of Japan were quite different from those of Europe and America in regard to the style of buildings. In consequence

of this the use of underground cables was sometimes resorted to in places where large numbers of telephone wires met.

37 Ibid., p.431, discusses rejection by people for various reasons at the time of constructing the railways.

38 Ibid., p.431.

39 Ibid., p.403.

40 Ibid., p.439. Foreign advisors, engeneers and instructors were, in particular, numerous in the railway construction, mining, and shipping. For example in the railway construction, as many as 120 British were involved in this from the planning of first railway construction in 1869 until 1891. Also p.345. Three Englishmen were appointed as chief manager of the head office in London, manager of the branch office at Yokohama, and travelling supervisor to act as their representatives and commissioners. Pp.435-436 give details of such experts in all divisions; there were some difficulties e.g. higher salaries, lack of mutual understanding. P.610; the mining institutions were engineering seminaries in the engineering department between 1871 nd 1877. Higher education relating to mining and metallurgy was given at the Imperial College of Engineering from 1877. After this was closed, the students were transferred to the Imperial University. The government also established several special schools for mining students who desired quicker graduation.

41 Ibid., p,548. As of 1901, technical education was taught at the Imperial University and Kyoto University. There were also five higher technical schools or Artisans' Colleges under government control, 34 technical schools of secondary grade, and 72 artisans' schools for ordinary technical education throughout the country. These schools produced experts and technicians successfully. P.531; owing to foreign experts, graduates of the above institutions and government's various encouragements, banking business, both national and private had increased remarkably . Pp.444-445; as of 1907, 67,000 miles of railway extended to every part of the country, and electric trams ran through the streets of cities. Pp.410-415; in the postal service, the number of post offices and letter boxes increased. Service areas were extended from Japan to abroad, e.g. China, Korea, UK, France, and Germany. P.422; from 1896, the service of telephone gradually introduced into cities and the number of subscribers steadily increased.

42 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., pp.89-149.

43 Ibid., p.115.

44 Ibid., pp.127-128. See Chapter IV, Section 1, of this thesis. This policy derived from the Imperial Oath of five Articles, Articles 2 & 4.

45 See Chapter III, Section 2, of this thesis.

46 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., pp.157.

47 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol.2, op.cit., p.163.

48 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol.2, op.cit., pp.163 & 231.

49 A.Tanaka, op.cit., pp.22-24.

50 See reference no. 17, Chapter III.

51 E.g., "Educational Ordinance of 1879", revised in 1885 and 1880, and Kyogakutaishi, "Prospectus on Educational Learning of 1879, and The Imperial Rescript of 1890. See S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit.,

52 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., pp.199-200. The nature of such an ideal man was imposed until 1945. Baron Kikuchi, "The Spirit of Japanese Education, with special reference to methods of moral instruction and training in different grades of schools", in E.Sadler (ed.), Moral Instruction and Training Schools Vol. II, Foreign and Colonial, Report of an International Inquiry, London: Longman & Co., 1908, p.319.

53 The ideal derived from Article 3, Imperial Oath of Five Articles, quoted in Chapter II, Section 2, of this thesis. S.Nagata, op.cit., p.163. The aims of education were stated in the Teaching Rules of Elementary School of 1881 based on the education Law of 1872.

54 S.Nagata, op.cit., pp.190-191,196 & 198.

55 Ibid., p.163.

56 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.400.

57 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., p.213. 3 to 4 years in lower level and 2 to 4 in upper level of elementary education.

58 See Chapter III, Section 2 in this thesis.

59 Count S. Ohkuma, op.cit., Vol. II, p.162.

60 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., pp.215-234.

61 S.Nagata, op.cit., p.165. Y.Fukuda stated this idea in his publiction, Gakkotoritate no shikumi, "The Organisation for establishing schools", for Oita prefecture, which was issued before an enactment of the educational system of 1872.

62 S. Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., pp.159-160.

63 Ibid., p161. The Japanese education systm was firmly established by 1886 when the Ordinance of Elementary School and Rules for Miscellaneous Schools were enacted. In four years compulsory education of elementary school, parents had to pay fees, which were spent for school accomodation. P.151; when the Ordinance of Education System of 1879 was revised, in 1885, a fee was required in all public schools

except in normal schools.

64 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., pp.175-176. Public schools (local schools) were financed by people, controlled by the head of towns or cities, but administered by government.

65 A.Tanaka, op.cit., p.42.

66 See Chapter III, Section 2, in this thesis.

67 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., pp.172-178.

68 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., pp.186-188. Private schools were established or re-organised and did develop rapidly for they were favoured by the people, who rejected Western curricula of public schools, and hence the private schools met the needs of society with the development of industry and polity. However many private miscellaneous schools were not initially categorised into the appropriate levels of education or type of schools under the School regulations in spite of the high quality of education given in certain schools, sometimes to university standard. Pp.188 and 231-232; miscellaneous schools were schools and juku, teaching at a private house, which were not qualified as to elementary, secondary, and professional schools in terms of school regulations and curricula of the Ministry of Education. These schools were established by Japanese who had had experience abroad, who introduced Western ideas and subjects or Christianity into the schools and who thus contributed to disseminating Western ideas in Japan. Examples of this kind of school were the Keio Gijuku established by J.Fukuda in 1867, the Waseda established by S.Ohkuma in 1882, and the Doshisha established by J.Nijima in 1875.

69 See reference no.68 for Western ideas and curricula of private schools. S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., p.189-200; among the state schools (see reference no.66 above), the following schools were categorised as schools established by government at the national level: kindergartens, which followed Frøbel's method and admitted both sexes, schools for the blind and dumb, using Bell's visible speech method, peers' schools and later peeresses' schools. These schools adopted general Western subjects with the encouragement of the Emperor and Emperess. The Schools of the Department of the Army included Western military subjects, foreign languages and literature. The Navy Medical School and other naval schools under the Department of Navy also included not only knowledge on navy matters but also Western knowledge such as English, science, chemistry, and technology, and literature. Schools of the Department of Justice adopted French law. Schools of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce adopted Western subjects of agriculture, veterinary, medicine, and forestry. Western technology, English, French, mathematics, and electric machinery were adopted in schools of the Department of Communication. See also p.226 and S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., p.200, for details of the work of an American scientist and

educator, W.C. Clerk, who contributed to the establishment of the Sapporo Agriculture School (1876) and introduced Christianity and techniques of Western agriculture.

70 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., pp.211-214. The Educational Ordinance of 1879 was revised in 1880 which enforced establishing schools and compulsory education. Shusin, ethics and mythical Japanese history promoted nationalism. Confucian ethics informed loyalty to one's superiors - Emperor, teachers, parents, older brothers and sisters - prescribed in the Imperial Rescript of Education , 1890. See also S.Nagata, op.cit., pp.198-200 & 242. The mythical Japanese history was an incentive for imperialism, combined with the distorted teaching of Confucianism in the Emperial Rescript and of the subject of shushin. Regarding changes of the national curricula, see the change of the national text books, reference no.78.

71 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol. II, op.cit., pp.63-64 suggests that Confucianism in 1868 promoted the 'making the highest good the ultimate goal of human activities, in regarding the perfection of personality as the aim of action... The central term jin (benevolence) in Confucianism expresses the same idea as the word 'humanity'. Herein Confucianism transcends all religions. Though the framework of Confucianism has already decayed, its soul, still living as before and forming the essential part of present-day education, will continue to exist in a new norm for long ages to come.' The traditional view of the people in terms of Confucianism simply corresponded with the context of Confucianism, e.g. modesty, love, politeness, respect for elders, that is a moral code. The government distorted this moral code for promoting nationalism. Hence, the people, in particular liberalists, rejected such government intentions. Western knowledge e.g., democracy was considered to be desirable for government until institutions were established, but once its ideas were introduced, the people reacted against the government's control over freedom of thought of the people. The way in which government adopted Western curricula directly inplanted without considering the circumstances of Japan at the time was the cause of the people rejecting Western curricula. The people, on the whole enjoyed brush writing, Japanese and Chinese literature, handicraft, sewing, cooking, flour arrangements, the tea ceremony, Japanese music, arts drama, and sports, e.g. sumo, judo, kendo.

72 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., p.220. Modern technical knowledge was adopted and increased with the development of economics, since such knowledge did not interfere with the government's policy. In pp.216-217, it is made clear that technical and industrial education was unpopular at first, because from the feudal age, ideas of despising labour and money deriving from Confucianism predominated among bushi, warriers leaders. Hence, ideas of 'respecting officers and despising commoners continued.'

73 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., pp.166-171.

74 See reference no.70 of this chapter.

75 See Chapter IV, Section 3, of this thesis.

76 Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933, hence traditional knowledge came to be stressed more than before.

77 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., pp.152-157.

78 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol. II, op.cit., p.79.

79 Ibid., pp.77,90-91 & 95-96. The author stresses conflict between educationists and Christian theorists regarding Christianity taught in mission schools as expressed in Dr. Inoue's essay 'On the Conflict between Religion and Education' of 1893. The concept of the essay was that education should stand upon nationalism based upon the Imperial Rescript of Education being faithful to one's parents and to the Emperor and that Christianity was contradictory to the spirit of the Educational Rescript as it advocated equal love to all, and stressed attachment not to one's own country but the heavenly Father and Jesus Christ. Christians maintained that the bases of education and religion were entirely different from each other, one being national and the other universal, and hence that it was quite illogical to talk of a conflict between the two.

80 S.Sato and S.Naka et.al., op.cit., pp.146,158 & 161. Such a knowledge was stated in the Education Law of 1872.

81 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., p.154.

82 See reference no.52, Chapter IV in this thesis.

83 In view of reference no.58 of this chapter, equality of sex was rejectd in curricula. See also T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.401: Y.Fukuzawa attacked equality and freedom, in particular in view of government's tendency towards nationalism, based on shushin. Women were taught to be good mothers and housewives, which was a feudalistic view.

84 Ibid., pp.401-402. Secondary schools, e.g. normal schools and universities, excluded women until 1945. Hence normal schools for women, a women's university (Niphon Women's University) and professional schools for women were established.

85 S.Nagata, op.cit., pp.179,184,202-214 & 252-256.

86 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol. II, op.cit., p.163. The Tokyo Normal School being a model for other normal schools.

87 S.Nagata, op.cit., p.179.

88 Ibid., p.211.

89 Ibid., pp.226-227 & 230.

90 Ibid., pp.249-256.

91 Ibid., pp.256-262.

92 Ibid., pp.196-197, describes ideal teachers before 1945. In normal schools, mottos of the ideal teacher were 'dignity, friendship, and obedience' and Rules for Elementary School Teachers indicated that teachers should transmit government policies and such teachers should be the model for students.

93 K.Aoki et.al., op.cit., p.65.

94 See Chapter III, Section 2 in this thesis. S.Nagata, op.cit., pp.115 & 146.

95 K.Aoki et.al., op.cit., pp.153-159.

96 T.Fukuo, Introduction on Japanese Family System, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1972, pp.210-222 & 214. Chapters 4 and 5 of the Code of Justice of 1870 were based on the Ancient Ordinance, which aspect is traditional, although the Code of Justice was modelled on those of France and Germany. The Education Law of 1872 and the Meiji Constitution were modelled on Western and North American countries, but the context was a combination of traditional and modern models and contradictory. The Imperial Rescript of Eduction can be identified as traditional in its form and content, in spite of some modern expressions.

97 See Articles 1-32, the Meiji Constitution.

98 The Civil Law of 1898.

99 See Chapter III, Section 2.2 in this thesis.

100 A.Tanaka, op.cit., p.199. The government aimed possitively at the creation of an imperial modern society.

101 S.Wagatsuma, op.cit., pp.76 and 1336, for Article 2, customary law and illustration of laws, supplimented by Articles 90-92, Civil Law of 1898.

102 Ibid., p.1336, Articles 92,Civil Law of 1898.

103 See reference no.96 in this chapter.

104 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.361. Such social outcasts, eta, Warriers, samurai, and classes of farmers, industry, and merchants, came to be categorised as commoners. On the other hand, peers were created by the Peer System of 1884. It consisted of princes, relatives of the Emperor, and the former feudal lords.

105 T.Fukuo, op.cit., pp.199 & 201-219.

106 S.Nagata, op.cit., p.163 stressed that the spirit of the Education Law was based on equality among four classess, equal opportunity in education, and individualism. This aspect is modern. But T.Fukuo, op.cit., p.200, notes that ideals of discrimination were expressed in such rigid

hierarchical classifications as 'the people of the peer and the military, sotsu, the soldier, agriculture, industry, and commerce and women and girls'.

107 Ibid., p.222.

108 Ibid., p.218. A new system to keep the records of all families in Japan was a tool to control the people.

109 J.Hendry, "Modification of Tradition in Modern Japanese Weddings and Some Implications for the Social Structure", in P.G.O'Neil (ed.), Tradition and Modern Japan, Tenterden, Kent: Paul Norbury Publications Limited, 1981, pp.41 & 44.

110 K.Aoki et.al., op.cit., p.106.

111 J.Hendry, op.cit., p42.

112 Article 813, The Civil Law.

113 Article 813, The Civil Law.

114 T. Fukuo, op.cit., p.206.

115 Ibid., pp.215-223.

116 Ibid., p.218.

117 Ibid., pp.215-216.

118 See Chapter III, Section 1 in this thesis. K.Kishimoto, op.cit., p.10.

119 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.367-368 & 380-382. A.Tanaka, op.cit., pp.40-41.

120 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.361, 367 & 368.

121 See Chapter III, Section 1 in this thesis, and note 33, Chapter II in this thesis.

122 See Chapter II, Section 3.1 in this thesis.

123 J.D.Douglas, "Major Theories of Suicide, Durkhein's Sociologistic Theory in Social Aspect", in D.L.Sills (ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 15, New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968, p.381. Variables of suicide being the two opposing moral dimentions of egoism-altruism and anomie-fatalism, supported by suicide increase in 'social disintegration' - 'disorder, disequilibrium, lack of unity or cohesion'.

124 See Chapter II, Sections 2.1 and 3.1 in this thesis.

125 This is perhaps social disintegration in Durkheim's term.

126 Japanese society can be identified to be in the process of modernisation.

127 M.Weber, op.cit., p.358.

128 A.Tanaka, Ibid., p.42, regarding the allocation of observation abroad did not specify welfare institutions, nor did S.Ohkuma, Vol. I and Vol. II, op.cit., except the fairly wide spread work of the 'Red Cross Society' (Vol.II, p.313). Even after 1945, welfare institutions and voluntary activities in schools are hardly seen. Welfare institutions and voluntary spirit might prevent people, in particular youth, from commiting suicide.

129 See Chapter II, Section 3.2 in this thesis.

130 K.Shiba, Oh Japan! Yesterday, Today, and Probably Tomorrow, Tenterden, Kent: Paul Norbury, 1979, p.227.

131 See Chapter II, Section 3.2 in this thesis.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 See Chapter III, Section 2 in this thesis.

2 This happened when Japan recovered her political independence in 1951.

3 M.Weber, op.cit., p.330.

4 See Chapter II, Section 3 in this thesis.

5 Articles 41-64, The Japanese Constitution of 1946.

6 Articles 65-75, the Japanese Constitution of 1946.

7 Articles 76-82, the Japanese Constitution of 1946.

8 S.Wagatsuma, op.cit., pp.192-206.

9 K.Kishimoto, op.cit., p.120.

10 H.Hasegawa (ed.), Basic Knowledge of Contemporary Terminology, Tokyo: Jiyukokuminsha, 1981, p.198.

11 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Administration Office, The Collection of Laws and Ordinances Related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs No.52, Tokyo: Daiichihoki, 1977, p.735. Overseas, as of 1977, Japan recognised independent countries and established 139 Japanese Embassies, 51 consulates General, and 6 Consulates. Besides, Japan established 5 residences of government agencies i.e., Permanent Mission of Japan to the UN in New York (1954), Delegation Permanent du Japon aupres des Organisations internationales of Geneve (1957), Delegation du Japon au Comite du Desarmament of Geneve (1971), and Mission du Japon aupres des Communautes europeennes of Brusel (1975). Pp.67-96, notes that according to the Personnel Strength Law, as of 1977, the number of regular staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was 3,225

(2,510 in 1946), of which diplomates overseas were 1,703.

12 See reference no.15 below.

13 K.Aoki et.al., op.cit., p.232.

14 S.Wagatsuma, (ed.), op.cit., Chapter III, Section 1 for the National Public Service Law, Chapter V, Section 4 for the Reformed Civil Law, Chapter V, Section 3, for the fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law, and Chapter V, Section 4, for three labour laws.

15 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.467.

16 Ibid., p.467.

17 H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.57. Examples are the movements opposing rearmament and the establishment of military bases, and the world assembly for prohibiting atomic and hydrogen bombs. Also, p.192, shows the example of the anti-assessment of work performance for teachers.

18 Ibid., p.53. Cases of forced decisions in the Diet are passing the bill on revising the Security Pact by bringing the police force in the Diet (1960), passing the bill on raising tax on alcohol, tobacco, and mail in 1975, and passing the budget for the year of 1976. Such phenomena of forced decisions cannot be seen in countries in which the parliamentary and democratic political system has developed.

19 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.475-476.

20 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Treaties, op.cit., pp.1-401 & 752-760.

21 See Chapter I, Section 2.2.1 in this thesis.

22 S.Tabata and Y.Ishimoto (ed.), op.cit., pp.93-95. The Habomai and Shikotan Islands are claimed to be a part of Hokkaido on the ground that they are mentioned as individual islands separate from the Chishima, the Juriles, which Japan had to abondon in the Peace Treaty. USSR and Japan still disagree on the matter of the Habomai and Shikotan Islands.

23 H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.440. In contrast to the above indication of modern attitudes at the state level, when it comes to the human contribution to the UN, in terms of membership of international civil service, modernity is indicated to a lesser degree. The scarcity of Japanese civil servants in the UN is related to the lack of modern men in number, the nature of man, and also in particular concerning foreign languages and culture, that is knowledge.

24 See Chapter II, Section 3, in this thesis.

25 See Chapter IV, Section 5 in this thesis.

26 See Chapter IV, reference no.16 in this thesis.

27 Policies at home aimed for rapid economic development to recover from the war damage and to raise living standards. They also aimed to help Japan to be independent politically and economically, since Japan depended on the Allied Powers, particularly USA, and to settle problems in connection with indemnity to countries which Japan had damaged in the war. Cf. Chapter IV, Section 3 in this thesis. Policies overseas aimed at joining the UN and other international organisations in connection with policies at home. Cf. Chapter IV, reference nos. 20-21 in this thesis.

28 See Chapter I, Section 2 in this thesis.

29 See Chapter I, Section 1 in this thesis.

30 K.Kawamura (ed.), op.cit., p.75, stresses such a lifetime employment based on the traditional human relationships. Most Japanese enterprises follow the lifetime employment system, one of the special characteristics of Japan's employment structure. Under this system, a new graduate joins a company, generally remaining with it until retiring instead of switching to another employer that may offer a higher salary or other advantages.

31 See Chapter IV, Section 5 in this thesis.

32 See Chapter II, Section 3 in this thesis.

33 See Appendix II and Chapter VI, Section 4 in this thesis.

34 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.455-460.

35 K.Kawamura (ed.), The Modernization of the Japanese Economy, Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1977, p.23. A plan for stabilizing of the Japanese economy, known as the Dodge Line, was a set of drastic anti-inflation measures based on the belief that a prerequisite for economic independence was stability of currency values, which was necessary to obtain economic aid. See also T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.460.

36 Ibid., p.455. Fifteen old and new zaibatsu including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, Asano, Shibuya, and Furukawa.

37 Ibid., p.455. It was to dismember giant monopolistic enterprises of each industrial department.

38 Ibid., p.456.

39 It was for the people to sustain their everyday life and to enjoy their cultural life under an appropriate system of welfare.

40 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bureau of Treaties, op.cit., pp.127-130 for the Security Treaty Between Japan and the USA, pp.203-220 for the MSA (Mutual Defence and Assistance Agreement) between Japan and the USA. H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.105 for the US-Japan Administrative Agreement.

41 See Section 2 of the present chapter.

42 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Japan of Today, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1980, p.42.

43 H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.323. an enactment of the Law for Rationalisation and Promotion of Enterprises, which used a policy of cxchange control to keep down an imports and joining IMF and the World Bank in 1952 in order to liberalise trade.

44 K.Kawamura, The Modernization of the Japanese Economy, op.cit., p.26. Jinmu boom was the biggest boom since the days of Emperor Jinmu, Japan's first Emperor and Iwato boom was the biggest boom since the mythical era, Iwato. K.Aoki, op.cit., pp.26-27, suggests these names were to signify unbelievable economic booms.

45 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan of Today, op.cit., p.42. Under the policy of the 'Double Income Plan' provisions such as an investment in labour saving devices, pollution prevention equipment, an abundant high quality labour force, and an adoption of foreign techniques made it possible to attain the aims of the policy.

46 K.Kawamura (ed.), Facts and Figures of Japan, op.cit., p.49. In 1980, machine products such as ships, automobiles, and radios were the major export items, accounting for more than 60% of the total.

47 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Industrial Cooperation Between Japan and the European Community - A Step Toward the Revitalization of the World Economy, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1981, p.8. Table 9. Sectoral Distribution of Direct Investment by Japanese Businesses in EC Region.

48 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan of Today, op.cit., p.42. The investment in new plant and equipment by private enterprise was not only in the key material industries but also new consumption industries. An adoption of new technology of licenced foreign know-how and new capital spending created new products, such as TV sets and automobiles.

49 T.Yamamoto, op.cit., p.470. The wholesale commodities included as steel, iron, shipbuilding, car, and radio.

50 K.Kawamura (ed.), Facts and Figures of Japan, op.cit., p.48. This is exemplified by the fact that Japan's GNP came to rank second to the USA among the world's non-communist countries.

51 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Japan of Today, op.cit., p.43.

52 Ibid..

53 See Chapter V, Section 2 in this thesis. T.Yamamoto, op.cit., pp.455-456 & 470.

54 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Japan of Today, op.cit., p.43.

55 Ibid., p.52, Government started a programme for production adjustments to balance the supply and demand of rice.

56 K.Kawamura (ed.), Facts and Figures of Japan, op.cit., pp.44-45 & 77. See also Chapter IV, Section 3 in this thesis.

57 See Chapter II, Section 2 in this thesis.

58 See Chapter V, Section 1 in this thesis.

59 R.Tames, The Japan Handbook - A Guide for Teachers, Tenterden, Kent: Paul Norbury, 1981, p.62 emphasises this vertical relationship as studied by C.Nakane. C.Nakane, Japanese Society, London: Penguin, 1973, stresses the dominance of 'vertical' relationships of rank and hierarchy in the family school and firm, contrasting them with the greater significance attached to 'horizontal' linkages (class, union, association) in the West. She emphasises the significance of inter-personal relationships as the determinant of social structures.

60 Specific technical knowledge is not usually given in general secondary schools.

61 Y.Fukuda, The State of Affairs in the West, Tokyo: Bunshubunko, 1979.

62 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Japan of Today , op.cit., p.43.

63 See Section 4 in the present chapter.

64 See Section 4 in the present chapter.

65 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., pp.61-65. The closed nature and inflexibility included a month of entering or transferring from schools abroad, length of attending schools, age of beginning or ending schools, and terms of requirements for entrance examination.

66 H.Kida, Development and Theme of the Postwar Education, Tokyo: Kyoikukaihatsu Kenkyusho, 1981, pp.386-387. Courses of Study were revised in 1958 and again in 1977 for elementary and lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools in 1978. T.Nakauchi et.al., Footsteps of Education, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977, pp.144-168.

67 Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., p.146. There are curricular differences between boys and girls in most lower secondary schools, in spite of the fact that the Course of Study of 1977 abolished such differences. T.Nakauchi et.al., op.cit., pp.144-162. Individual ability has been directed to performing one's duties in his job, conforming to orders of his office, and adapting himself into the office. This was done through

streaming students for the purpose of entrance examinations of upper secondary schools and then universities, which have direct or indirect ties with particular civil or business employments. This brought a prejudiced view to those who are not in academic courses.

68 See Section 4 of the present chapter.

69 Educational problems are correlated with social and economic problems in general.

70 See Chapter V, Section 2, in this thesis.

71 This is a feature of modernity.

72 S.Wagatsuma, op.cit., p.1301, the Fundamental Law of Education; pp.1031-1304, the School Education Law; pp.161-184, the Law of State Civil Servants; pp.408-414, the Law of Local Civil Servants; pp.1316-1318, the Special Law of Public Servants in Education; pp.1312-1315, the Law of State Administration and Organization, and Law Regarding Organization and Operation for Local Administration in Education.

73 Ibid., p.1301.

74 Ministry of Education, Education in Japan - A Graphic Presentation, Tokyo: 1978, pp.46-49.

75 See Section 2 of the present chapter. S.Nagata, op.cit., p.293.

76 K.Kawamura (ed.), Education in Japan, Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1978, pp.4-5.

77 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., pp.286-290.

78 Ibid., p.290.

79 Ibid., p.300.

80 Ibid., p.305.

81 Ibid., pp.287-291.

82 K.Kato, Present State of Education and Educational Policy of Political Parties - Comments on Current Topics No.172, Tokyo: Kyoikusha, 1979, p.100. A public election of members of Eduction Boards and to decrease the power of the Ministry of Education were proposed by most political parties except the Liberal Democratic Party.

83 S.Munakata, My Statement on Education, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1974, pp.4-11, 85 & 72-75. Educational neutrality in politics is taken to mean that making comments on the way in which government formulates, adopts, and implements policies is not permited. Efficiency rating applied to teachers uas utilized by government, in particular the Liberal Democratic Party, to force policies onto teachers, headmasters, members

of Boards of Education, and the Ministry of Education. Educational neutrality in politics, the efficiency rating of teachers, and the management allowance for headmasters were used to persuade teachers to conform to authority. H.Hasegawa (ed.), op.cit., p.134. The Subversive Activities Prevention Law differs from the Law of Maintenance of the Public Peace before 1945, as it would affect the freedom of expression.

84 M.Shinbori, Education of Japan, Tokyo: Yhushindo, 1981, pp.136-137.

85 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., pp.311-312.

86 Ibid., pp.307-310.

87 Ibid., pp.311-313.

88 Ibid., p.298.

89 S.Munakata, op.cit., p.67. Teaching of dotoku, moral education, instructed by the authority, the Ministry of Education, by all means indicates an essence of obedience to morality, as long as the superior in politics equals superior in morality. Under this superior authority, people are only to follow such authority.

90 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., p.310.

91 M.Aso and I.Amano, op.cit., p.66.

92 S.Nagata (ed.), op.cit., p.302.

93 Ibid., p.300.

94 M.Shinbori, op.cit., p.105.

95 M.Murai et.al., Transforming Education: A Symposium, Tokyo: Nihon Broadcasting Press, 1975, pp.31 & 41-43.

96 M,Shinbori, op.cit., pp.145-146.

97 Ibid., pp.145-146,

98 H.Shimizu (ed.), Confused Present Education and Japan: Study Group on Political Parties in the World, Tokyo: Ohhira Printing Office, 1976, p.170.

99 M.Aso and I.Amano, op.cit., p.65. M.Katsuta and T.Nakauchi, Schools of Japan, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1975, pp.250-251.

100 The Study Council for Education System, "How to Reform Japanese Education - Proposal for Reform", in Japan Teaches' Association, Educational Review, May/June, 1974, No.304, pp.185-186.

101 See Chapter II, Section 3 of this thesis.

102 T.Fukutake, "The Family and Character", in K.Kawamura (ed.),

The Japanese Family, Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1981, pp.6-7. Nuclear households comprising a married couple and unmarried children, a single parent and unmarried children or a married couple alone reached 64% in 1975, whereas they had only been 60% in 1955. All these families are not necessary of a purely nuclear type. Also included in this percentage are a large number of temporarily nuclear households in which the children will eventually live with their parents after marriage.

103 K.Higuchi, Changing Family Relationships, in K.Kawamura (ed.), The Japanese Family, op.cit., p.22. Both father and mother work outside, the so called 'salaried workers family'.

104 T.Fukutake, op.cit., pp.5-7. The household line of the household, ancestral family unit, in which the eldest son remains at home with his parents even after marriage, in most cases continued. This case is included in nuclear families as a married couple alone and/or unmarried children in the earlier stage.

105 Article 900, the Civil Law.

106 T. Fukuo, op.cit., p.226.

107 Article 877, The Civil Law. Prime Minister's Office, Comparison of Results of Surveys on Women's Problems in Selected Nations, Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1983, p.11. Regarding distribution of household chores, such as responsibility for clearing the table and washing the dishes after meals, cleaning, laundering, and preparation of meals, it was the woman who washed the dishes in more than 50.0% of the cases. The highest percentage was for Japan (88.6%) followed by FRG (72.0%), USA (64.0%), the Philippines (57.0%), UK (55.9%) and Sweden (52.8%). K.Shiba, Oh, Japan, Yesterday, Today, and Probably Tomorrow, Tenterden, Kent: Paul Norbury Publications, 1979, pp.229-230.

108 See laws relating to society in the present section.

109 Prime Minister's Office International Comparison on Youth and Family, Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1982, p.8, makes comparisons of the relationship between husband and wife, in Japan and the USA. Decisions on daily living expenses are made by 73.9% of Japanese wives and 19.0% of American wives. Decisions on child discipline are made by wives 31.7% of the time in Japan and 6.0% in the USA. In contrast, comparisons of going out together, shows that Japanese wives go out less than American wives: eating out etc., Japan 17% and USA 48.2%; films and theatres, Japan 7.0% and the USA 39.7%; social parties, Japan 5.3% and the USA 36.6%; travel, Japan 5.2% and the USA 33.0%.

110 See Chapter V, Section 2 in this thesis.

111 The difinition of adult is prescribed in Articles 3 & 4, the Civil Law.

112 K.Shiba, op.cit., pp.229-230.

113 J.Hendry, op.cit., p.44.

114 K.Shiba, op.cit., p.56.

115 Ibid., However, in this area modern values of individuality are shown in that the people became rational and reasons of these forms came to be understood to a certain degree. For instance, the number of international marriages rose from the 1950 to 1970. After the World War II, the majority of international marriage was due to economic reasons, especially for women, but it changed to individual choice based on one's interest e.g. occupation, personal character, hobby or one's educational and social background.

116 K.Kawamura (ed.), Facts and Figures of Japan, op.cit., pp.25-26.

117 Y.Yuzawa, "Is Divorce Really on the Increase in Japan?", in K.Kawamura (ed.), The Japanese Family, op.cit., p.4. Japan's divorce rate shows very little growth when analysed from a different viewpoint. Until about 1965, violence and cruelty were put forward as ground for seeking divorce in under 20% of cases. In recent years, however, this has grown to more than 40%.

118 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Japan of Today, op.cit., pp.92-93.

119 Ibid., Also, K.Kawamura (ed.), Facts and Figures of Japan, op.cit., p.121 for attire, p.113 for diet, p.117 for restaurants, p.139 for music, p.138 for films. K.Shiba, op.cit., pp.209-212 for housing. Ministry of Transport, Department of Tourism and Japan National Tourist Organization, Tourism in Japan, Tokyo: 1981, pp.15-18 for hotels and tourism.

120 Police Agency, Police White Paper - Present State of Police Activity, Tokyo: 1978, pp.99-101. Police Agency, Police White Paper - Present State on Police Activity, Tokyo: 1979, p.48.

121 Police Agency, op.cit., 1978, p.100.

122 Ibid., p.99.

123 Ibid., p.101.

124 Ibid., p.101.

125 Ibid., p.99. Regardless of the trend of the male suicide (61.9%) exceeding the female suicide (38.1%) and causes of the male suicide differ from that of the female, their suicide being related to the struggle and contradiction between the modern and the traditional nature.

126 M.Shinbori, Education of Japan, op.cit., p.203.

127 Police Agency, op.cit., 1978, pp.105-108. International crime has increased. For instance, in the case of the hijacking of a Japan Air plane in 1972, a member of the hijackers commited suicide. H.Inamura, Inadaptability Overseas of Japanese, Tokyo: Japan Broadcast Press Association, 1980, pp.14-19 gives examples of Japanese who commited suicide abroad in the whole world. Those who committed suicide included adults and children, both men and women. They were officials and businessmen, their wives, and children, even a couple (a double suicide), students and travellers. It was suggested that there could be many unreported cases. He emphasises the cause of such suicides was due to inadaptability of Japanese abroad and stemmed from the traditional nature of man being closed in nature and also due to different diet, language, and life style. He also analysed various phenomena of Japanese inadaptability to conditions abroad including suicides. Various phenomena of modernisation which took place in Japan were also found abroad, although the cause differed. Japanese women and men, both single and married, commited suicide because of lonelines or having faced difficulty in adapting themselves to life abroad.

128 See Chapter V, Section 2 in this thesis.

129 Police Agency, op.cit., 1978, pp.139-141, and Police Agency, op.cit., 1979, pp.49 & 100.

130 J.D.Douglas, op.cit., p.381.

131 Police Agency, op.cit., 1978, p.101. The direct causes of the above suicide were social problems which can be categorised into the two modern social phenomena; sickness, mental impediment, loneliness and defiance on the one hand, and alchoholism, crime, and an habitual use of drugs on the other.

CHAPTER SIX

1 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., pp.1-19.

2 Japan National Commission for Unesco involved in conveying international features.

3 Ministry of education, Course of Study for Elementary School, op.cit., Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Upper Secondary School, op.cit.

4 Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., p.97. Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Upper Secondary School, op.cit., p.144.

5 Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Elementary School, op.cit., p.25. Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Lower Secondary School, op.cit., p.15. Ministry of Education, Course of Study for Upper Secondary School, op.cit., p.17.

6 Problems are dealt with in Chapter I, Section 4 in this thesis.

7 Ministry of Education, International Bureau of Arts and Science, International Department of Unesco, The Present State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1978, pp.106 & 81-103.

8 Ministry of Education, International Exchange in Education, Arts, and Science, and Culture, Report of the Central Council for Education, op.cit., pp.1-12.

9 Ibid., pp.19-58.

10 Ibid., pp.2-12.

11 Ministry of Education, The Present State of Education for Children Overseas, op.cit., pp.81-105.

12 M.Hiratsuka et.al. (ed.), op.cit., pp.36-41.

13 Ministry of Education, International Exchange in education, Art and Science, and Culture, Report of the Central Council for education, op.cit., p.5. The Central council proposed that 'Education for International Understanding' be examined by e.g. the Council for Educational Curriculum in relation to the present courses of study.

14 Ministry of Education, Japan National Commission for Unesco, Education for International Understanding in Schools: The Final Script, Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1980, pp.109-226.

15 The Study Council for the Educational System, "How International Solidarity in Education is Promoted: Proposals for Reform", in Educational Review, The Monthly Journal of The Japan Teachers' Association, May/July, No.304, 1974, pp.179-186. T.Kobayashi, Education for Children Overseas, and Education for Child Returnees: Educational Problems in the Era of Internationalisation, Tokyo: Yugaikaku, 1981, pp.179-180.

16 Committee for Citizen's Consciousness, Kansai Economic Friendship Sciety, "Proposal for Educational Reform - Selection for the Twenty First Century" in Japan Year Book of Education 1981, Tokyo: Committee for Year Book of Japanese of Education, 1981, pp.490-492.

17 Gaijin means to be outsiders as well as foreigners, which is its literal translation. 'International national characters' is a phrase from H.Takasugi (Ed.) op.cit.

18 The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, The Record of the Seminar of Education of Children Overseas, The Second Year, 1981 - The Present State and Prospect of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: Simizu Printing Office, 1982, pp.121-136.

19 The Center for Education of Children Oveseas, Tokyo Gakugei

University, Symposium, Considering Education of Children Overseas, 1979, op.cit., pp.147-184.

20 The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, The Record of the Study Conference on Education of Children Overseas for International Understanding (Year of 1979), Tokyo: Futabasha, 1980, pp.110-113.

21 The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugai University, Symposium, Considering Education of Children Overseas, Year of 1980 (the Third) - Education of Children Overseas in International View, Tokyo: Shimizu Printing Office, 1981, pp.1-54.

22 The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, Symposium, Considering Eduction of Children Overseas, Year of 1981 (The Fourth), Tokyo: Shimizu Printing Office, 1982, pp.1-64.

23 The Center for Eduction of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, The Record on Seminar of Education of Children Overseas, Year of 1980 (The First) - Education for International Understanding in Educational Institutions Overseas, Tokyo: Shimizu Printing Office, 1981, pp.137-151. The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, Symposium, Considering Education of Children Overseas, Year of 1979, op.cit., pp.185-229.

24 The Asahi, 11 April, 1982, pp.12-13, carried a report on the "International Symposia, 'Japan Speaks'". The theme of the 1980 Sympopsium was "Culture and Society: Is Japan Offensive?" and "Is Japan a Middle Class State?". The theme of 1981 was "Politics and Economics: Is Japan an Affluent Country?" and "Is Japan a United State?". The theme of 1982 was "The Japanese Image: To What Extent are Japanese People Traditional?", "Can Japanese Modernisation be a Model?", and "With What Belief do the Japanese Live?"

25 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., pp.147-208. S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., pp.149-171. The Mainichi, 27 July, 1982, pp.10-11 & 13, carried a report on the "Symposium on Bringing up International Man, New Japanese Adaptable to the World".

26 S.Yamazaki, op.cit., p.144.

27 Ibid., p.139.

28 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., pp.88 & 91.

29 The Mainichi, 27 July, 1982, op.cit., p. 11.

30 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., p.23 & 54. E.g. experts are divided into specialists and generalists.

31 S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.67.

32 Ibid., p.19.

33 Ibid., p.6.

34 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., pp.71-72.

35 Ibid., pp.71 & 73.

36 S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., pp.132,144, & 161.

37 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., pp.72-73. Japan consists of "families of the same tribe who inter-marry", that is, the homogeneous society. It is the society in which human relationships and personal relationships are symbolised as if they emerged from marriage between people of the same tribe.

38 The Mainichi, 27 July, 1982, op.cit.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.71.

42 H.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.23.

43 Ibid., p.70.

44 S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.139.

45 Ibid., pp.3-4 & 143-144.

46 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., pp.170 & 176.

47 The Mainichi, 24 May, 1980, carried a report on the "Symposium on Bringing up International Man".

48 Ibid., p.4.

49 Ibid., p.14. J.Peteau stated, "There is no such expression as 'international man' in foreign countries but only in Japan." S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.35, quotes S.Ogata as saying, "I think that an expression of international man had not been used in Japan when I left Japan in 1975. I heard 'international man' for the first time from an American who had an interest about Japan, while I was abroad." H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., p.9, commented, "It must be only we Japanese who think about international man!"

50 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., pp.15-84. S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., pp.1-74. The Mainichi, 27 July, 1982, op.cit., pp.10-11 & 13.

51 The Mainichi, 24 May, 1980, op.cit.

52 The Mainichi, 27 July, 1982, op.cit.

53 H.Takahagi (ed.), op.cit., pp.31,67, & 113.

54 The Asahi, 11 April, 1982, op.cit.

55 The Mainichi, 27 July, 1982, op.cit..

56 The Asashi, 11 April, 1982, op.cit..

57 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., pp.58,61 & 86.

58 The Mainichi, 27 July, 1982, op.cit., S.Yamazaki, op.cit., pp.31 & 69.

59 M.Ishizuki, Education for Internationalisation, Tokyo: Mineruba, 1974, pp.10-21. According to Ishizuki, internationalism differs from cosmopolitanism. The former premises the self existence of nations and aims at friendship and goodwill among nations by participating in the world through the medium of nations, while, the latter denies nations and individuals and attempts to form a uni-world by connecting directly to the world community.

60 H.Takasugi (ed.), op.cit., p.61. S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.71.

61 In particular, lack of foreign language competence was pointed out in all symposia.

62 For example, these are the basic misinterpretations of international man (reference no.58) or excluding a man who holds no nationality (reference no.55).

63 See Chapter I, Section 4 in this thesis, in particular, reference no.97.

64 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., pp.23-65.

65 Ibid., pp.56-65.

66 See Chapter I, Section 2 in this thesis.

67 In addition, governmental and non-governmental sources.

68 See Chapter I, Section 4 in this thesis.

69 See Chapter IV, Section 3, in this thesis.

70 S.Yamazaki, op.cit., p.6.

71 S.Nishimura, "History of Education of Children Overseas", in The Center for Education of Children Overseas, The Record on Seminar of Education of Children Overseas, Year of 1980 (The First) - Education for International Understanding in Educational Institutions Overseas, op.cit., pp.65-85.

72 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., p.1. The number of children overseas was 9,000 in 1971 and 27,000 in 1979. The number of child returnees was 1,543 in 1971 and 6,564 in 1979.

73 T.Kobayashi et.al., Reserch Report on Adaptability of Children Overseas and Child Returnees, Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1978, pp.44-53. Y.Minoura, "Bilingualism: The

Process and Its Correlates - A case of Japanese Children Living in the United States", in Bulletin of the Department of Philosophy, Okayama University, No.2, Okayama: Okayama University, 1981.

74 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., p.9.

75 Ibid., p.2.

76 M.Kamijo and M.McLean, The Japanese Community and Japanese Supplementary Schools, Paper presented to the Comparative Education Society in Europe, Würzburg, July, 1983, p.8. M.Kamijo, "Bilingual Education in the United States of America", in The Study on Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: The Centre for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei Univesity, 1981. However, special instruction in English is provided by Local Education Authorities in England, or bilingual instruction is provided by English and Japanese speaking instructors in certain public schools in the U.S.A.

77 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., p.2.

78 Ibid., p.7.

79 Ibid., pp.2-19.

80 Ibid., pp.56-65.

81 See Chapter I, Section 4 in this thesis.

82 Ministry of Education, International Exchange in Education, Arts and Science, and Culture - Report of the Central Council for Education, op.cit., p.2, proposed bringing up international men, while non-governmental symposia and reports or writings emphasised the urgent need of such men, for example, S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.66.

83 Ministry of Education, The State of Education for Children Overseas, 1978, op.cit., pp.93-94 & 99. The Study Council for the Basic Policy on Promoting Education of Children Overseas recommended that international features should be language, history, geography, arts of countries in which children oveseas reside and exchange culture between that of Japan and these foreign countries. In Japan, the recommendations included the maintenance of these features and the sharing of them with children brought up in Japan. While The Mainichi, 5 July, 1982, op.cit., recommended such features to be foreign languages and 'international sense', that is international adaptability in terms of foreign culture and manners.

84 S.Yamazaki, (ed.), op.cit., pp.49 & 62.

85 M.Kamijo, "Planning Bilingual Education in Japan: A Comparative Study" in Bulletin of The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: Tokyo Gakugei University, 1984, p.6. In the preliminary study, the change which produced problems for children overseas and child returnees was

located in the area of environment between Japan and other countries.

86 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., p.7.

87 Ibid., pp.69-102.

88 Ibid., pp.63-64.

89 Ibid., p.2.

90 See Chapter III, Section 2 in this thesis, in particular reference nos.4, 23 & 24.

91 See Chapter IV, Section 4 in this thesis, in particular reference nos.53 & 54.

92 The dual nature of society, man, and knowledge, that is traditional and modern, is identified in Chapter III, Section 3, in this thesis.

93 Concrete rules of the Constitution of 1946 and related laws are identified in Chapter II, Section 2 in this thesis, in particular reference no.41, shows the dual nature of institutions. The tendency of neglecting the individuals' rights for personal development is discussed in Chapter V, Section 4 in this thesis, and referred to in rference nos.67 & 70.

94 Ministry of Education, Development of Education in Japan, 1976-1978, Report Presented at the 37th International Conference on Education, Geneva, 5-14 July 1979, op.cit., p.51.

95 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., p.7.

96 Ministry of Education, The State of Education for Children Overseas, 1978, op.cit., p.106.

97 Ministry of Education, The State of Education for Children Overseas, 1982, op.cit., p.106 shows, although an application of Article 26, Japanese Constitution , the right to receive education was questioned and argued in the Budget Committee, the House of Representatives in 1978 in view of Article 26 not being applied to Japanese schools abroad. See also M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., pp.27-29.

98 See Chapter VI, Section 2 in this thesis, in particular reference no.11.

99 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., pp.50-52.

100 Ibid., pp.53-56.

101 Ibid., p.55. Ministry of Education, The State of Education for Children Overseas, 1978, op.cit., p.103.

102 Ministry of Education, The State of children Overseas, 1978,

op.cit., pp.91,93 & 99. The aims of education for children overseas are to give them education suitable to be Japanese and to bring them up possessing rich international characteristics, for which foreign languages, history, geography, and arts of the country in which they reside are required. The aims of education for child retrunees are to adapt them to education in Japan and to maintain international characteristics obtained abroad. On the whole, the policy aims to bring them up as Japanese but 'un-Japanese'. The definition of such a Japanese is an issue of debate and defintions are offered which are contradictory. The Center for Education of Children Overseas, "Symposium, Considering Education of Children Overseas", op.cit., pp.150-155 described 'un-Japanese' in terms of identity, e.g. language, culture, and manners. Thus 'un-Japanese' is defined as Japanese while depending on one's foreign identity only, one who is not accepted by general society of Japan, one who cannot use 'Japanese-English', and who can not contribute to Japanese Society.

103 See the reference No.100 above.

104 S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.91 commented that once Japanese graduates of Cambride, Oxford or American universities had the possibility of becoming professors in Japanese universities, but now this is hardly possible.

105 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., pp.69-102.

106 Ibid., p.108. S.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., pp.143-146, in the section entitled "Japanese Society Closed in Nature and Reform of the Educational System", stresses the need of opening Japaneses culture and society, while, on p.36 he emphasises that bringing up international man is not possible without the internationalisation of Japanese society.

107 M.Kamijo, MA Dissertation, op.cit., p.100. See also Chapter I, Section 3 in this thesis. Bringing up international man should accord with the major feature of international man, that is to recognise and to practice human rights.

108 M.Weber, op.cit., p.330, indicated that rules of bureaucratic systems being modern is based on abstract rules. Chapter V, reference no.3 in this thesis, shows that the Japanese Constitution and related laws and rules are concrete.

109 See Chapter V, Section 2 in this thesis, in particular reference nos. 25-27. See also Chapter II, reference no.40.

110 Observation of French schools of all levels and questions asked to teachers in these institutions by the author in April, 1981 proved that French teachers are given a great deal of freedom in curricula to give instructions or choose materials according to individual needs and ability in spite of the centralised educational system.

111 See Chapter I, reference no.65 in this thesis.

112 K.Nakamura, Japanese Schools in the World, Tokyo: Sanshusha, 1978, pp.195-200, and M.Kamijo, "Bilingual Education in the United States", in The Study on Education for Children Overseas, Ibid., Bilingual theory stresses that the second language should begin after a child learns to talk and to read in their dominant language. A bilingualist is a person who can use two languages as his mother tongue. He would not become bilingualist after fourteen years old. To become a bilingualist, one should learn the second language between four and thirteen years old, in particular to begin the second language from eight or nine years old.

113 M.Kamijo, "English Teaching in Soviet Schools", in K.Ellis (ed.), Education in the USSR: A Report of the University of London Institute of Education Adademic Tour to the U.S.S.R., 13-20 December 1980, London: Department of Comparative Education, University of London Institute of Education, 1980, pp.46-51. Masako Kamijo, "Visit to English School No.1", in D.Coulby and D.Turner (eds.), Education in the USSR: A Report of the University of London Institute of Education Adademic Tour to the U.S.S.R., 12-19 December 1980, London: Department of Comparative Education, University of London Institute of Education, 1981, pp.10-14.

114 K.Aida, op.cit., pp.23-25 stresses that a man of ability as a leader should have ideas imagination, and his particular rhythm; thus he is not a man who can do well in all subjects equally. In order to bring up such a man, curricula have to meet individual needs.

115 M.Kamijo, S.Garduno, and L.Timms, "School Visit - Moscow and Leningrad: Visit to Vocational School No.513 Leningrad", K.Ellis (ed.), op.cit., pp.33-36. G.Owen, "Visit to a Vocational School", D.Coulby and D.Turner (eds.), op.cit., p.15-17. For instance, author's visiting the above vocational schools in the USSR and also vocational schools in the Federal Republic of Germany (July 1983) found that students, in particular after compulsory education, chose their future career according to their experience and skills adademically and practically through direct contact with society. According to observations of several comprehensive secondary school students in England, students in this country begin their career education from fifteen years old and study towards various skills, including an academic career, by way of achieving O-level examination results. O-level assessment is highly valued by employers.

116 M.Kamijo, "Education System in England", in The Economic Investment, London: JETRO, 1983. In the case of England, A-level courses, specialising in a few subjects towards one's major speciality, are said to be of an equal standard to two years in American Universities. Students seem to find study in upper secondary schools meaningful.

117 M.Kamijo, "ABC of Education in Local Schools", in Big Ben, No.4,June, 1981, p.3; No.5, August, 1981, pp.5-6, No.6, October, 1981, p.3, No.7, December, 1981, pp.5-6, published by The Japanese Club of London, explained the intensive

study project for a term or a year on one subject in depth in elementary schools and voluntary activities visiting homes for the aged, inviting the aged to schools for special occasions, and making donations as a result of works of children, e.g. bazzars. M.Kamijo, "Education in British Schools", in Notice and Information for Women, London: Embassy of Japan, Monthly Issue between 1980 and 1982. Y.Kamijo, "Hospitalisation in London", in Living in Europe, No.72, November, 1983, Monthly Issue, London: Overseas Courier Service.

118 S.Hagiyama, Consultation on Education for Children Overseas: Q & A Continuous issue, Children Who Go Over the Sea, Tokyo: Foundation for Promoting Education of Children Overseas, 1980, pp.293-298. Hagiyama shows examples of serious problems regarding necessary qualifications for entrance examinations to upper secondary schools. Various cases exemplified uniform and formal interpretation of school regulations applied to students who are to graduate from lower secondary schools overseas. School regulations seem too complicated and contradictory in practice, that is to say such qualifications are not applied rationally but rather technically. Problems regarding the qualification for the entrance examination certainly have impeded the bringing up of children overseas and child returnees as international men.

119 Various reports show that there are many Japanese teachers who have made an effort to promote international exchange, for example those reported in The Center for Education of Children Overseas, The Study Record on Education of Children Overseas for International Understanding, op.cit., pp.105-116. However, M.Yamazaki, op.cit., p.187, notes that, in practice, the majority of Japanese teachers sent abroad seem not to support the policy. It may be also that there is a trend towards selecting teachers for overseas service based on practical grounds, such as devotion to the elevation of the school record of students to the same level as students in Japan for the purpose of entrance examinations.

120 M.Kamijo and M.McLean, "The Japanese Community and Japanese Supplementary Schools", paper presented to the Comparative Education Society of Europe XIth Conference, July, 1983, Würzburg, gives an example of Japanese teachers employed locally in Japanese schools abroad having ability and competence in teaching children overseas. M.Kamijo, "Problems of Re-entry of Children Educated Overseas - A Case Study of Japan, paper presented to the Comparative Education Society of Europe, XIth conference, July, 1983, Wurzburg, p.13. Students and wives employed locally as teachers in Japanese schools abroad and Japanese supplementary schools seem more enthusiastic and flexible in their teaching.

121 For example, The Center for Education of Children Overseas, Symposium, Considering Education of Children Overseas, op.cit., pp.181-182 shows that there are many students and wives with experience of life overseas and teaching. Some of them hold some kinds of teacher's certificate while others are graduates of either a junior college or a university.

Their valuable and useful experiences and enthusiasm and attitudes towards teaching child returnees or similar kinds are men of the ability needed at present. In this view and in view of opening up the teacher education system some institutions which facilitated transfer between specialisations would merit consideration.

122 The second reasons are emphasised by M.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.170, in the case of a Japanese commentator. M.McLean, Minority and Supplementary Education Schools in England and Wales, Paper presented to the Comparative Education Society of Europe, XIth Conference, July 1983, Wuꟻzburg, analysed such dependency and threats of these schools from a foreign view.

123 See reference no.124 below.

124 M.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., p.187 commented that parents abroad are not internationalised on the whole. S.Katsuta and T.Nakauchi, Schools in Japan, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1975, p.219, analysed parents' dependency in general in view of the government's way of imposing such a trend since the time of the Meiji. "We leave to teachers the whole conduct of educating our child", is what parents customarily respond to the child's teacher in a consultation with the teacher. Parent's dependency can be one of the major problems for children overseas and child returnees adapting themselves to life abroad and in Japan.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1 Human relations refer to all fields of activity.

2 Economic friction is severe between USA or European countries. Cultural friction is also exemplified by H.Inamura, op.cit., Cultural differences brought Japanese inadaptability, which caused various troubles with foreigners, in particular, Japanese commiting suicide is said to be troublesome to local people abroad. M.Yamazaki (ed.), op.cit., pp.178 & 188. Educational friction is exemplified by certain critics about financial dependency and an issue of lowering the educational standard due to the high percentage of minorities, including Japanese children, in schools. This is particularly the case in New York City. Political friction is exemplified by dependency in security on USA or the territorial issue between Japan and USSR which prevent the conclusion of a formal peace treaty.

3 The First Report of the Special Council on Education, summarised and quoted at length in The Yomiuri Shinbun, Tokyo: Yomiuri Newspaper Co., 27 June 1985, is a good example.

4 Until 1945, ethics applied in the Meiji Constitution, the Imperial Rescript on Education, normal schools, the subject of shushin for promoting Imperialisam and nationalism. After 1945, an introduction of dotoku, moral education has been argumental.

5 S.Katsuta & Nakauchi, op.cit., p.39. Japanese industry developed based on the capitalism and the mode of production resembles that of the West and USA. However, it maintains Japanese characteristics, in particular the way of management and of the mode of production and human relations in minor enterprises.

6 S.Kumon, op.cit., pp.17-24. The general level of international cooperation is an issue due to a high expectation of economic growth of Japan and of a great number of Japanese experts overseas. Accaordingly, Kumon commented that foreign countries make a scapegoat of Japan for whatever Japan does.

7 Count S.Ohkuma, Vol.1, op.cit., p.430.

8 M.Morishima, England, Japan, National Character and Society, Vol.2, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1979, p.153. While Japan closed her country to outside in the Tokugawa period for over 200 years, a specific type of Japanese based on Confucianism was formed. M.Aso abd I.Amano, op.cit., p.9. The development of Japanese education has represented a process of individual persons, subordinate to the state's will in the past, being emancipated from such control. However, individual men played a part in the nation's industrialisation process.

9 The Yomiuri, 27 June 1985.

10 H.Hasegawa, (ed.), op.cit., p.424. Japan's inclusion to permanent membership of the Security Council was taken up in the meetings of Tanaka-Nixon of 1973 and Fukuda-Carter of 1977. However, there is not much possibility of realising it, for an amendment of the UN Charter would be required, and the opposition of the USSR can be expected.

11 K.Nishio, Japanese Education and German Education, Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1982, pp.222-224, 232-236 & 163. Prejudice against outsiders stemmed from the nature of belonging to a group, "Japanese sickness of wa (harmony)", and Japanese equality indiscriminately applied. The closed nature of such traditional Japanese men applied both to general and specific men.

12 K.Ebuchi, The Introduction to Study on Education Overseas, Tokyo: The Simul Press, 1974, p.27. Under specific circumstances of Japan, in which Japan had to advance to the same level of advanced countries since the Meiji, Japan aimed to adopt Western techniques and systems, so that poeple should understand foreign countries and make friendly relationships by mutual cooperation or work for their people came to be of second importance. The same attitude towards international cooperation and international relationships with foreign countries continue up to the present.

13 S.Katsuta and T.Nakauchi, op.cit., p.260. Ministry of Education, The White Paper: Growth of Japan and Education - An Analysis of Educational Investment - ,1962 indicated relations between educational investment and GNP as a material for rationalising relations between educational

investment and school education, thus it had a role to produce manpower of high talents, who lead economic development, in economic field. In practice, The Economic Council, Theme and Measures for the Development of Human Ability in Economic Development, 1963 controlled educational policy for producing a large number of such man power. M.Kimihiro, My Issue on Contemporary Education in View of Economic, Tokyo, Japan Broadcast Press Association, 1979, pp.40 & 34-48, Democratisation based on equality enhanced mobility of the Japanese society and high growth of economy played the role for economic power to receive education. Majority of graduates of secondary schools or higher institutions experience as employees once in their life whether or not certain graduates succeed their father's occupation. Thus, the competition for entering higher education and then to jobs became severe. Such a competition for economic growth means to the end would bring up good citizens, good artisants or technicians is a question. "Japan Speaks - A Giant Without a Face : Choices in the Anxiety, International Symposia", in M.Okazaki Ed., Bungeishunju, June, 1982, No.60, Monthly Magazine, Tokyo, Bungeishunju, 1982, pp.276-289. Japanese culture of samurai, warrior, chonin, commoners of the Edo, and aya, ancient Budhhas produced free men. Fee men with such Japanese culture are valuable and needed as elements of international men. This suggest that aiming of economic growth should be slow down and bringing up international men should be based on something particular to Japanese as a norm, since Japanese are not religious nor ideologists but anti-fundamentalists.

14 H.Sakakibara, The Image of New Bureaucrats who Represent Japan: K.Kakizawa vs. Bureaucrats on the Active Service, Tokyo: Yamateshobo, Tokyo, 1977, p.138. K.Kakizawa, Bureaucrats and the Japanese Ship, Tokyo: Gakuyoshobo, 1978, pp.165,254,268 & 251. An example of the traditional man is predominant among politicians and bureaucrats. Since the Meiji, political administration was carried out by bureaucrats rather than politicians, and bureaucrats had an excess of political competence. The majority of politicians at present consider their own benefit rather than that of the state. Hence, politics is the least internationalised area of society. Bureaucrats have been in awe of kami, the head politicians, which is the conciousness of the legacy from the Tokugawa. Accordingly, the whole society has bureaucratised in terms of following such traditional bureaucrats. In this context, K.Kakizawa suggests that bureaucrats stand at the crossroads of their roles in order to cope with the new age, i.e. internataional society and that an age of 'out of bureaucrats' expressed by Y.Aida, op.cit., p.19. Therefore, Sakakibara suggests that leaders in the international society are expected to be produced from 'outsiders', that is to say, 'out of bureaucrats' or children educated overseas.
Insufficient English competence derived from various factors, e.g. passive attitude, closed in nature, lack of practice in conversation or not using English as a medium of instruction, insufficient English competence of teachers of English, English lesson for the purpose of entrance

examination. It may be wrong to generalise that Japanese cannot master English. For example, Japanese children who have studied in schools abroad in local schools show sufficient competence in English or any other foreign language. K.Kobayashi, "The Theme of Education for Children Overseas", in The Monthly Journal of the Ministry of Education, Tokyo: Gyosei, No.1243, 1980 commented on an example of a child returnee who learned Queen's English in a British school so that students and even his teacher burst out laughing at his pronounciation in Queen's English. Center for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University, Symposium, Considering Education of Children Overseas, op.cit., p.154 stresses that English should be taught in the 'Japanese way and it should not be emphasised to bring in everyday expressions used by the natives'.
Various cases of phenomena of inadaptability of Japanese to international society overseas are exemplified by H.Inamura, op.cit. including both specific and general international men. The inadaptability to international climate overseas are mainly due to differences of culture of Japan and the traditional nature of men.

15 The policy to bring up international men does not show clearly for specific or general international men.
M.Aso & I.Amano, op.cit., p.6 emphasises that an individual person subordinating to the state's will. Thus, education could not bring up international men.

16 H.Takasugi Ed., op.cit., p.58 emphasises Japanese being deul nature of tatemae,principle or policy in theory and honne, disclosure of one'a real intention in practice. In this way, context of laws and policies are not likely to be realised in practice. Theory and practice in eduction, i.e. educational aims being personal development and contributing for the state have been contradictory since the Meiji. honne, i.e., the aim of individual development would not be emphasised until it comes to be needed or would not go without it.
It is due to the contradiction between theory and practice. Again, the policy is too broad or general without paying attention to the basic problem of these children faced.
To emphasise such traditional features is well represented by 'Japanese English' or 'Japanese like' based on Confucianism, e.g. harmony, Japanese sincerelity, making circle, individual being seated in the circle or group,which are pecurially Japanese and exclud outsiders.

17 S.Katsuta and T.Nakauchi, op.cit., pp.39,219,200 & 261. Educational customs derived from the Education System of 1872, which aimed to vitalise the control system of the old village community and the specific custom of forming a man in the village community still continue in the new education system and schools. Dependency of parents and children on teachers and of teachers on the government and local governments was emphasised by such a public nature of public schools of Japan. The Education System of 1872 was established by the will of the government, thus a personal traditional authority was exercised in educational institutions. The Educational reform under the Allied

Occupation carried out without the voluntary consent of the people, and consequently, the process of later reforms in the nature of education was gradually changed by the government.

18 Parents need to realise an important role they play for bringing up their children. Do not be dependent but independently try to solve problems of their children by making distinction between specific and general international men in accordance with child's ability and personality. See M.Kamijo, Planning Bilingual Education in Japan: A Comparative Study, Section V and K.Hatano, Schools in the World and Schools in Japan: Experiential Comparative Pedagogy, Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1978, p.4 stress the importance of mothers's competence in foreign languages both abroad and in Japan for bringing up their children to be international men.

19 See Chapter II, reference no.44 in this thesis. However, to choose **dilletantism** in the field of bureaucratic administration is left for man to avoid being a personal authority. The modern aspect of individuality was not adopted on the whole. Since human rights as the major international feature of man includes individual rights, 'individuality' can be stressed before advocating 'human rights'. M.Morishima, England and Japan, National Character and Society, Vol.2, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1979, pp.154 and 186. Again, a difficulty in adopting 'individuality' and 'human rights' derives from the persistent closed nature of Japanese based on Confucianism in the world of which individualism is suffocated. Such nature was cultivated during the Tokygawa for about 300 years. Secondly, indivudualism was not won by Japanese through a revolution but utilised for the imperial modernisation under the presssure of foreign coutries and until the establishment of modern institutions for military and economic developement.

20 The Yomiuri Shinbun, Tokyo: Yomiuri Newspaper Co., 6 September 1984, p.3. Prime Minister Y.Nakasone proposed the content of deliberation in the first meeting os the Special Council on Education, held on 5 September, 1984.
See also, Special Council on Education, The Letters of the Special Council on Education, Tokyo: Prime Minister's Office, 1985.

21 The Yomiuri Shinbun, 23 August 1985, p.2, The Yomiuri Shinbun, 2 September 1985, p.1, and The Yomiuri Shinbun, 25 January 1985. September 1984, p.13.

22 Special Council on Education, The Letters of the Special Council on Education, Tokyo: Prime Minister's Office, 1985.

23 The Mainichi, Tokyo: Mainichi Newspaper Co., 4 January 1985, p.12.

24 The Yomiuri Shinbun, 23 May 1985, p.21, and The Yomiuri Shinbun, 20 April 1985.

25 The Yomiuri Shinbun, 14 April 1985, The Yomiuri Shinbun, 16

April 1985, p.21, and The Yomiuri Shinbun, 31 May 1985, p.1.

26 The Yomiuri Shinbun, 7 June 1985.

27 The First Report of the Special Council on Education, op.cit., Part II.

28 See Chapter III in this thesis.

29 The First Report of the Special Council on Education, op.cit., Part III.

30 The First Report of the Special Council on Education, op.cit., is again a good example.

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APPENDIX 1

Glossary of Japanese Terms

Aikokuto	Public Sosiety of Patriots, the first political party founded in 1874
bakuhan	feudal clan of the Tokugawa regime
bunmei kaika	enlightening civilisation, a slogan in the Meiji government
choshi	councillors of the central government consist of prince, peers-court nobles and feudal lords in
chu	faithfulness
daimyo	a feudal lord of the Meiji
dotoku	morals, text books of moral educaion from 1958
fu,ken	a prefecture or former hanryo of the Tokugawa
fukoku kyohei	enriching the country and strengthening the army, a slogan in the Meiji government
fusen undo	abbreviation of fujin senkyo undo, women's suffrage
gaijin	a foreigner, it means also outsiders.
Gaikokukan	Bureau of Foreign Country, the latter renamed as Gaimusho
Gaimusho	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
gi	justice
giji	councillors of the central government consists of clansmen and commoners in 1868
han	a feudal clan
hanbatsu	clique among the former clansmen of the powerful feudal lords which wook place in the Meiji government
hanryo	domain of a feudal clan
Iwato	the mythical era
jin	humanity
Jinmu	Emperor Jinmu, Japan's first Emperor
Jiyuto	the Liberal party (1881-1884)

juku	a private school, after school private course
kami	a comprehensive term applicable to anything high or above oneself
Kenrei	the Prefectural Orders in the Meiji
kho	filial piety
Kirishitan	a Christian
Komeito	a political party organised in 1964 with Soka Gakkai, a laymen's organisation of the Nichiren Shoshu sect of Buddhism, as the parent body
makoto	truth, the sum of Shinto morals
Meiji era	It begins from 1868 until 1911 and was named after Emperor Mei
Monbusho	Ministry of Education
omiai	a premarriage meeting arranged by a person
Rikken kaishinto	the Constitutional Progressive Party (1882-1896)
Ritsuryo	Ancient Ordinance: Taiho Ritsuryo was enacted in 701 and enforced from 702, Yhoro Ritsuryo was enacted in 718 and enforced from 757
Sanyo	councillors of the central government of the Meiji in 1868 consisting of peers
sekisho	a guard station at the barrier between domains, in particular, it is referred to feudal domains in the era of the Tokugawa
shin	honesty
Shinto	the doctrine of the kami, kami is a comprehensive term applicable to anything high or above oneself. The very focus of Shinto is a vague and indefinite term applied alike to gods and heroes, or to natural phenomena. The Emperor is conceived as a living kami, under whom lies a graduation of kami and shimo, namely the higher and the lower.
shushin	ethics, text books of moral education from the Meiji until 1945
taika-kaishin	the political and social Reform of the Taika era in 646
tei	brotherly love
tenchi-shinmei	the God of heaven and earth
Tokugawa regime	Japan was controlled by the Tokugawa from 1603 until 1867 in practice under the name of Emperors

yobiko	preparatory schools for entrance examinations
zaibatsu	giant family trusts

APPENDIX 2

Arguments on the context of Models and Problem Analysis for Internationalisation

Traditional features are occidental since they are seen in occidental countries in the modern age, but they were also seen in Western countries in the middle ages.[1] The generalised traditional features are, thus an acceptable model for the comparison of norms, even if tradsitional fetures of the model are derived from a Western theorist.

Modern features, in general, are of Western context, ands emerged against the practice of traditional features (irrationally hierarchical based on personal rules, feudal, patrimonial, group orientation, and dependent), which brought problems to the social development. Moidern features are, therefore rationally hierarchical based on legal laws, bureaucratic, individual, ands independent. Advanced Western and North American countries attempted to modernise their countries voluntarily through various revolutions,[2] at least to obtain the above modern features. Therefore, modern features are acceptable norms among these countries.

On the other hand, for traditional societies to modernise their countries by adsopting modern features under forces either by a colonisation or a unilateral government's policy of the country and non-governmental level voluntarily, modern features are bound to be rejected, since the people, on the whole, are not ready for such a change, because of ignorance, or fear of the effects of the change, ands perhaps a preference for the traditional ways.[3]

Thus, problems emerge in adopting modern features, e.g. resistance, refusal, non-cooperation, indifference or a state of confusion.

The second level problems emerge in the process of modernisation and the third from the effect of modernisation in practice. Due to the economic development and self interest Imoperialism, colonisation, expansion of territories, fascism, etc. may appear and lead to wars. Educational, economic, and social problems are identified in many forms, e.g. urbanisation, employment problems, hosing and transportatin, suicides, divorce. These problems are mainly phenomena of the process of modernisation caused by not anticipating an effect of the change, not adopting measures to prevent problems from such effects. or not providing measures to meet such consequences.

In order to prevent the above problems, in particular wars, the UN was established by the Allies in 1945 in order to promote the idea of maintaining peace and security through international cooperation and understanding.

International features constructed on the basis of the UN Charter shows a triple nature of traditional, modern, and international. Traditional features are prerogatives of veto of the Permanent Securitycouncil with the official languages. Modern features are the majority decision in the General Assembly, bureaucratic organisation of the Secretariat, and the use of technical skills. International features are ideas of maintaining peace and security through international cooperation and

understanding,human rights, international officers, (although there are bound to be conflicts between international aims or policies and interests of the individual country in the formulation of policies and their implimentation), and international laws (although, the UN Charter itself contains a triple nature). The triple nature of the UN as the cesntre of international society is, thus itself irrational, inconsistant, and complex.

In view of the role of the Allies in setting up the UN to prevent disputes or wars, and the notion of initiating the UN, the nature of the UN is naturally an acceptable norm to the Allies. So far as international ideas are concerned, they are agreeable norms for any other members of the UN, since the ideas can be traced back to, for example cosmopolitanism or universalism (Greece, Rome or Christian countries) or religious or moral codes in terms of peace and cooperation.[4] Even other features inevitably fall into being accepted as international ideas at the initial condition (and most probably until non-members of the Permanent Security Countil, in particular, the defeated countries in the II World War, show sincere proof of being in accord with the international ideas satisfactory in practice).

Problems occur under the following three categories in the process of internationalisation.[5] i) Joining the UN and adopting international features, the nation encounters the triple nature of the UN being inconsistent and complex. The traditional nature of prerogatives of veto by the members of the Permanent Security, along with the official languages, demonstrate an irrational and traditional authority over ratifying amendaments, and in

considering applications for membership from other nations. Non-members of the council are handicapped in certain decision making processes and the area of communication is limited to one of the other official languages, which is a handicap to the internationalisation of these countries.

ii) Each nation a) being in idfferent state or stages of internationalisation (quantative state of traditional, modern, and international features man, society, and knowledge; politics, economics, education, societal condition) at home, b) struggles to demand each nation's own interest in the UN which results in a formulation of international laws (treaties, conventions) and policies (recommendations, reports) on the international level, c)adopting and implimentation of the above at home, d)encounters the mode and the nature of international cooperation (mutual aid in equal terms being inter-dependency; unilateral aid and demanded aid being dsependent nature).

iii) Power groupings of countries depending on common interests; a) the Allies (since 1945), b) economically developed capitalist countries (since 1950), c) regional combinations, d) socialist countries (since 1955), e) countries with common religious or moral codes (since 1960), f) altruism, international peace, neutralism - theorist (future).

The above nation specific problems (i,ii), and problems of power grouping (iii), both of which extend to world problems, bear upon the development of the UN, and may change the nature of the UN in the future, and change international society as a whole.

Education is involved in the above process through international exchange of people, knowledge, materials or finance in the light of international policies. International exchange or educational aid takes place for an establishment, a partial reform or an initiation in the whole area of education system.[6]

In practice, the educational policy seemed to emphasise producing manpower for economic development.[7] Administrative advice and financial aid were carried out by international organisations, government, foundations or private organisations. Basic education in elementary level and life-long seducation (adult education, recurrent education, or permanent eduction) in further education were introduced. Democratisation and expansion of secondary and higher education were attempted. In curricula, basic knowledge and technical and scientific knowledge were emphasised.

The mode and nature of international exchange are categorised into 1) mutual cooperation (purpose and quantity), which when unbalanced is either in the nature of dependency or aid, but it may result in inter-dependency on equal terms and 2) unilateral aid which is dependent in nature, but its success may result in an independent nature.[8]

Dependency is indispensable for internationalisation which includes certain modernisation. It occurs in joining and adopting concepts of the UN Charter. The nation encounters the inconsistency of the UN at this first stage of internationalistion.(i) This is the primary and basic problem for internationslisation which relates to dependency.

An issue of dependency emerged from the adoption and implementation of international policies at home and abroad through international exhcnage or aid in the process of internationalisation.(ii) On the premise of adopting concepts of the UN charter, dependency itself is not argued here, neither is dependency in aid to suvival of life. The problem concerning dependency was likely to occur simultaneously in the way in which both countries, assisting and receiving aid or in international exchange, adopted international policies and implemented them, whether or not taking consideration of the ideal society, man, and knowledge of the nation.

The issue of dependency became severe with the advancement of power grouping of countrties depending on common interests, (iii) while an effect of the partial internationalisation including modernisation was found in visible and assessible forms. A consequence seems not effective in terms of aid.[9] Problems of international cooperation in aid and or exchange may be related to an idea of attempting such a power. (a-e, iii) The notion of international peace in international cooperation seems difficult to identify in practice (f,iii), but may be possible in theory.

In the above context, international cooperation in exchange or aid lmay be assessed, in particular concerning dependency in education, by studying a)the present state on the development of the UN, b) the way in which exchange or aid was carried out between the two countries in view of ideal society, man, and knowledge of the country, and c) the notion behind the exchange

or aid (purpose, quantity). At least, to clarify the nation specific ideal sociesty, man, and knowledge would be of primary importance, sinces there seems to exist an inconsistency between the government policy and ideal society, man, and knowledge of the country.[10] For example in Islamic societies, education aims at bringing islamic man with islamic knowledge and disciplines.

Nation specific problems in the UN and in each nation relate to problems of the internationalisation of Japan. Participation in and cooperation with international activities in international organisations involves countries and their people on different levels in having international contacts with foreigners in one's own country and abroads on a general level. The traditional, modern, and international models and the study of the interenationalisation of Japan using these models may illustrate that with the change of the UN brought about by each nation's interest in the UN, international society will become more complicated and problematic. Such changes of the UN cirtainly affect the internationalistion of Japan and equally that of other countries.

1 M.Weber, op.cit., pp.348-359.

2 M.D.Shipman, Education and Modernisation, Society Today and Tomorrow, Faber, London, 1971, pp.13-33

3 See Chapter IV of this thesis. M.D.Shipman also described the same cases in othere countries in op.cit., p.14.

4 M.Ishizuki, Education for Internationalisation, Minelvashobo, Tokyo, 1974. pp.10-21.

5 The problem analysis of i), ii), and iii) were analysed in reference to the Case of Japan of this theses and G.Abi-Saab, Ed., The Concept of International Organization, UNESCO, Paris, 1981, pp.9-67.

6 Education system categorised by IBE (International Bureau of Education) are aim of education, administration, finance, structure and organisation, currisulum, and teacher education.

7 Educational problems and problems concerning dependency in education were analysed referring to following papers on dependincy in eduction: British comparative Eduction Socisety Conference in 1983, the Seminar on dependency in education by Department of Comparative Education andthe Workship on Reproduction and Dependency in Eduction by EDC and Department of comparative Education, Institute of Education, London University.

8 The catetories are based on the tree models of this thesis, Chapter II and the Case of Japan of this thesis.

9 That Eductional Aid is the Opium of the Third World and Ideal Typical Constucts for the Islamic World, LACE(London Association of Comparative Educationists) Meeting, Institute of Education, University of London, 1984.

10 Ibid.

APPENDIX 3

Statistics Relating to Japanese Children Overseas and Child Returnees

1 Number of Educational Institutions, Countries, and Teachers Dispatched Abroad

	1968	1971	1973	1976	1979	1982	1985
Japanese School	18	26	37	45	62	72	76
Countries	(16)	(23)	(33)	(38)	(52)	(54)	
Supplementary School	17	22	45	65	73	90	102
Countries	(12)	(12)	(26)	(38)	(33)	(38)	
Teachers	65	123	271	448	649	905	

Sources: Ministry of Education, State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: 1978, pp.4 & 12-14.
Ministry of Education, State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: 1983, p.4
Educational Foundation of Children Overseas, Education for Children Overseas, Monthly Magazine, June, No.148, pp.23-26.

2 Number of Children Overseas (and Percentages)

	1968	1971	1973	1976	1979	1982
Japanese School	1,079	2,433 (28.1)	3,666 (27.4)	7,333 (40.5)	10,882 (44.3)	14,841 (44.5)
Supplementary School	1,664	2,348 (27.5)	3,766 (28.2)	6,331 (35.3)	8,501 (35.0)	11,351 (34.1)
Others		3,845 (44.4)	5,940 (44.1)	4,430 (24.5)	4,906 (20.2)	7,141 (21.4)
Total		11,106	13,372	18,092	24,289	33,333

Sources: Ministry of Education, State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: 1978, pp.4 & 12-14.
Ministry of Education, State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: 1983, p.4

3 Number of Japanese Residents Abroad Classified by Region and Occupation (families classified with main salary earner)
As of 1981

Occupation / Region	Firm, Bank Reporter Manufature	Free Enterprise	Student Researcher Teacher	Government	Other	Total
Asia	40,572	300	370	1,271	4,636	1,831	48,980 (23.9%
Oceania	4,454	42	64	776	500	337	6,173 (3.0%
North America	38,911	487	602	19,967	2,249	2,234	64,468 (31.5%
Central & South America	12,305	77	173	366	2,249	650	15,820 (7.7%
Europe	26,115	476	2,642	12,192	3,539	4,561	49,525 (24.2%
Middle East	11,432	44	15	60	660	124	12,335 (6.0%
Africa	5,579	79	46	99	1,531	96	204,73 (7.3%
TOTAL	139,368 (68.1%)	1,505 (0.7%)	3,930 (1.9%)	34,731 (17.0%)	15,364 (7.5%)	9,833 (4.8%)	204,73 (100.0%

Sources: Ministry of Education, State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: 1983, p.5

4 Number of Schools Receiving Child Returnees in Japan
As of 1983

	Elementary School	Lower Secondary School	Upper Secondary School	University	Total
National	7	10	4	5	26
Public	30	19	7	2	58
Private	2	9	18	24	53
Total	39	38	29	31	137

Sources: Ministry of Education, State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: 1983, pp.58-75.

5 Number of Child Returnees Classified by Level of School in Japan

	Elementary School	Lower Secondary School	Upper Secondary School	Total
1971	896	435	212	1,543
1973	2,241	685	203	3,129
1976	3,225	1,000	373	4,598
1979	4,563	1,420	581	6,564
1981	5,716 (67.6%)	1,874 (22.1%)	873 (10.3%)	8,463 (100.0%)

Sources: Ministry of Education, State of Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo: 1983, p.55.

6 Number of Schools and Enrolment Therein, Classified by Type of School in Japan
As of May 1978

Classification	Number of Schools	Number of Students
Kindergarten	14,227	2,497,730
Elementary School	24,826	11,146,859
Lower Secondary School	10,777	5,048,293
Upper Secondary School	5,098	4,415,074
Technical College	64	46,636
Junior College	519	380,299
University	433	1,862,262
(Graduate School)	(242)	53,267
Special Education School	685	71,774
Miscellaneous School	5,744	781,031
Special Training School	2,253	406,613
Total	64,626	26,709,838

Note : The number of graduate schools is included in that of universities, while the number of graduate school students is not included in that of university students.

Source: Ministry of Education, Development of Education in Japan (1976-1978), Report Presented at the XXXVIIth International Conference on Education, Geneva, 5-14 July, 1979, and published by the Ministry of Education in Tokyo, p.10.